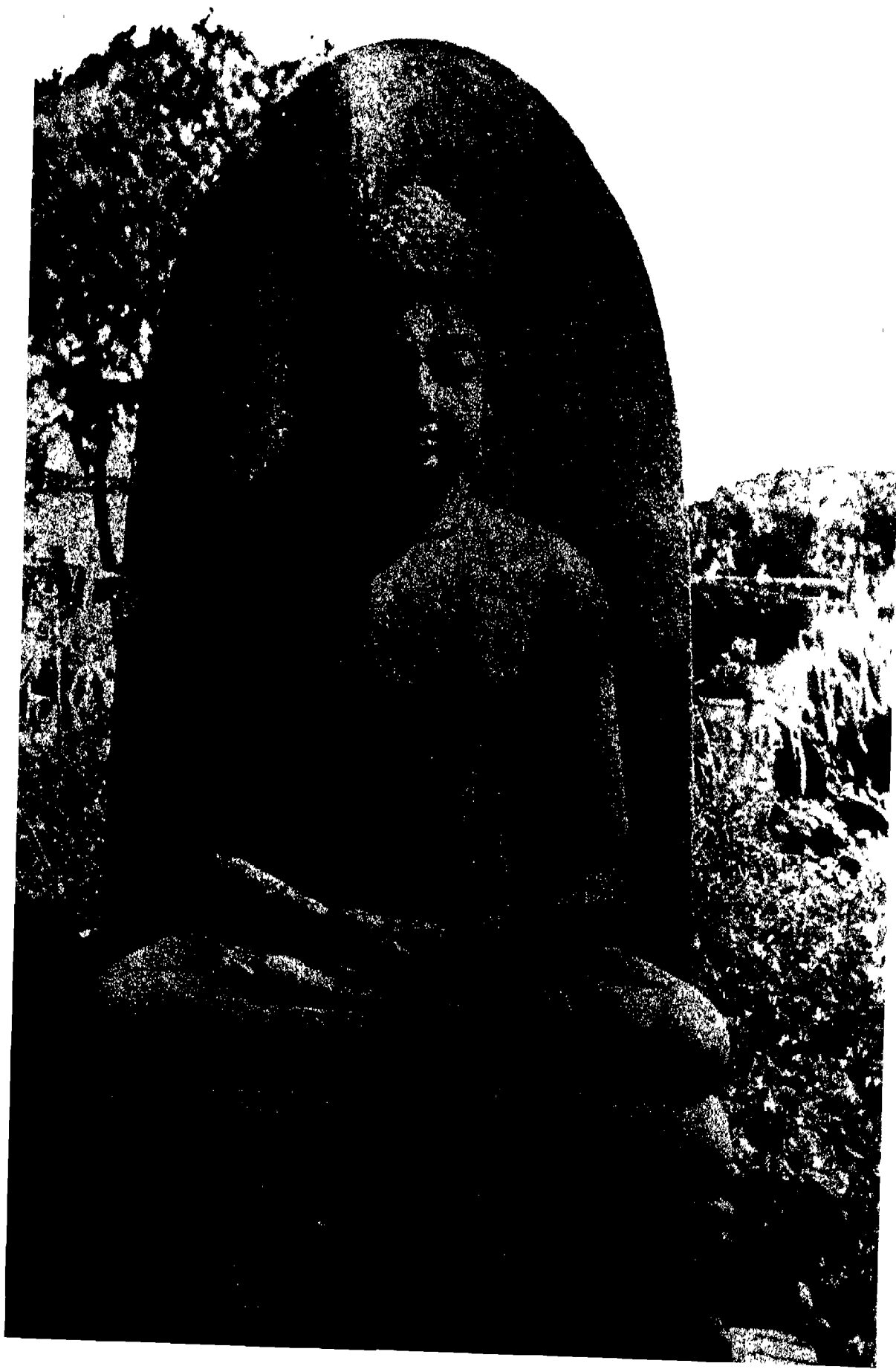
अवनितलगतानां कृत्तिमाकृत्तिमाणां
वनभवनगतानां दिव्यवैमानिकानाम् ।
इह मनुजकृतानां देवराजार्चितानां
जिनवरनिलयानां भावतोहं स्मरामि ॥

'With devotion do I recall the abodes of the great Jinas, natural or artificial, which are found all over the earth, which are in sylvan resorts, which belong to heavenly beings who reside in aerial chariots, which are erected here by men and which are worshipped by the lords of gods.'

JAINA ART
AND
ARCHITECTURE

Volume I

JAINA ART
AND
ARCHITECTURE

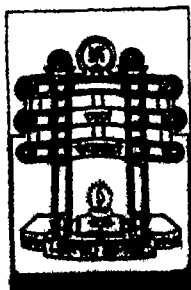
Published on the Occasion of the 2500th Nirvana Anniversary of Tirthankara Mahavira

EDITED BY

A. GHOSH

Former Director General, Archaeological Survey of India

IN THREE VOLUMES

VOLUME I

BHARATIYA JNANPITH

NEW DELHI

PREFACE

JAINOLOGY HAS COME TO BE RECOGNIZED AS AN IMPORTANT INTEGRAL PART of Indology. This is rightly so, because the term at once enlivens up the image of a distinct stream of culture which has contributed immensely to the enrichment of Indian philosophy, literature, art and the pattern of living sustained through a tradition of social responsibilities and pursuit of spiritual advancement through stages of well-laid norms for the *Śrāvakas* (householders) and the *sādhus* (*recluses*). Scholars of Indology have long since relieved themselves of such misconceptions as regarded Jainism as an offshoot of Buddhism, or Mahāvīra being the founder of Jainism.

Positively, they now believe, on the basis of the study of history, that Pārśvanātha, the twenty-third Tīrthaṅkara, preceded Mahāvīra, the last of the twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras by about two hundred and fifty years and that the history of the period of Neminātha, the twenty-second Tīrthaṅkara, co-relates itself with Kṛṣṇa of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Gītā* fame, who were first cousins to each other. Ṛṣabhanātha or Vṛṣabha, the first Tīrthaṅkara, whose name occurs several times in the *Ṛgveda*, has been referred to by scholars in several articles included in this Volume.

So also in the field of Indian philosophy. Jainism cannot be regarded as a Nāstika or atheistic religion, simply because it does not believe in a Creator-God. It believes in the eternal existence of soul (*jīva*) and of five other substances (*dravyas*)—Matter, including energy (*pudgala*), medium of Motion (*dharma*), medium of Rest (*adharma*), Space (*ākāśa*) and Time (*kāla*). It believes in the potentiality of each soul to achieve *Nirvāṇa* or the state of Godhood. *Anekānta* or the theory of non-absolutism has been a great landmark of Indian philosophy with all its potential power to solve the problems of philosophical disputation and of social maladjustments when *Anekānta* is supported by *Ahiṁsā* (non-injury in thought, word and deed), another cardinal principle of Jainism.

The inspiration generated by Jainism has been a factor of inestimable value in the development of Indian literature, both religious and secular, in Sanskrit and in various modes of Prakrits and Apabhraṁśas. The development of modern literary forms in languages like Kannada and Tamil is traced by

competent persons to the works of Jaina scholars of yore. There is no style of literary form—poetry, drama, story and expository prose—that has not been embellished by the writers adhering to Jaina faith, whatever the religion of the family they might have been born in.

A new dimension to Jainology has been added by scholars, historians and archaeologists, who are struck by the wealth of Jaina art not as a desultory piece of artistic creation but as belonging to a category that has a history of evolution through the ages, with a lot of give to and take from the Indian art of the respective period. What of this can be seen in concrete shape throughout India through long and arduous journeys is difficult to comprehend unless all this information is made available in a form that will encourage other scholars to take note of for pursuance of further studies and general readers to understand and visualize what this artistic and architectural wealth is. The publication of *Jaina Art and Architecture* in three volumes, hopefully magnificent, has been planned to achieve the aforesaid objective. It may be added that in order to facilitate the study of Jaina art and architecture, Bharatiya Jnanpith has undertaken to build up archives of photographs relating to the subject. Over ten thousand photographs have been collected so far from different sources in India and abroad and more are being added. We are indebted to Shri M.N. Deshpande, Director General, Archaeological Survey of India, for helping and guiding our activity in this and other similar matters.

The main inspiration of this project has been that of Shri Shanti Prasad Jain, a pioneer industrialist and founder of Bharatiya Jnanpith, a literary and cultural organization that is widely known among the scholars of Indology in India and abroad for its research publications. It is regarded as the main spring of giving *fillip* to the contemporary Indian writing through its publication of works by promising young writers and through its annual literary Award, highest so far in India, given to the best literary creative writing in Indian languages.

The finalization of the outlines of this publication had a little chequered career in the beginning. The original scheme was drawn up with the help of Shri M.A. Dhaky, who, it was expected, would lend active support and would contribute handsomely to the making up of the book. It was also envisaged that it would be possible to form an Editorial Board with one or the other of the established scholars in the field of Jaina art, undertaking the main responsibility for editing. The names of such persons are so few that they would hardly cover five fingers. When confronted with this paucity and its resulting pulls, we

decided to hang around a sturdy old oak that Shri A. Ghosh, the former Director General of Archaeological Survey of India, is. Our request and our persuasion worked. He gave a good look at the original scheme and decided that the work being first of its kind, we should be well-advised not to make the scheme too discursive. The scheme was, therefore, modified to make it more practical and attainable in time. It is, however, one thing to make a plan and to provide for ample time for each author and quite another for the authors to decide when the time is ripe to put pen to paper. They are all so busy and so very much pressed for time. Then again, the material for the text and the illustrations had to be obtained or re-shuffled with difficulty and written out or re-shaped painstakingly. Their difficulties added to ours manifold.

What do the readers think was the number of letters, reminders, telegrams and cables that have been issued to obtain the contributions in time! The number till now is four thousand, eight hundred and ninety-one. This is only to suggest how oppressive must have appeared our reminders. We offer our sincere apologies. Another reason of mentioning this fact at some length is to evoke readers' sympathies to the inadequacies that are bound to be there in a work of this nature. Those who would like to venture upon such a project in future (for, after all, ours is only a path-making effort) would do well to be patient and to take cognizance of the hazards of binding themselves to a time-schedule. Such a schedule could not be helped in our case, because it is in centuries that an auspicious occasion like the present one comes. It is appropriate that the project should have found its fulfilment on the occasion of 2500th year of the *Nirvāṇa* of Bhagawan Mahāvīra, being celebrated in India and abroad.

It is with real gratification and pleasure that Bharatiya Jnanpith offers its sincere thanks to Shri A. Ghosh for his accepting the Editorship of these Volumes and also for re-accepting the same under trying circumstances on his return from Indonesia after a lapse of one year. His return has been worth waiting for in the best interest of the project. It has been my privilege to work with him and to observe how careful and unsparing to himself has been his devotion to the assignment. In the world of art and architecture, he is considered the model of an editor. Shri Ghosh has spared no pains to make it possible to have the first volume finalized in time for the occasion of the *Nirvāṇa Mahotsava* Celebrations, when in a public function on November 17, 1974, this Volume is scheduled to be released by Shrimati Indira Gandhi, Prime Minister

of India. Not only his knowledge and erudition, combined with a rare feel for the beauty of Sanskrit literature and language, it is Shri Ghosh's practical experience of producing faultless art-publications that has contributed greatly to the standard we have been able to achieve, much though he feels remains wanting.

Shrimati Rama Jain, President, Bharatiya Jnanpith, rendered continuous help and guidance in the execution of this Project. Her readiness to handle problems and practical difficulties as well as her zeal for perfection are our great assets.

Dr A.N. Upadhye, General Editor of the Oriental Series (Moorti Devi Granthamala) since the inception of the series, has always been ready to help us in textual difficulties. His guidance is always so reassuring. I am thankful to him.

We have benefited much from the comments made by Dr Jyoti Prasad Jain, Retired Professor of History, University of Lucknow, on several chapters which were sent to him. We are beholden to him and look forward to his continued co-operation.

Our warm thanks are due to the contributors whose writings have made this book worthy of presentation on the occasion of the *Nirvāṇā Mahotsava.* Shri Om Prakash, Director, Caxton Press, has taken personal interest and has been at our bid and call to help us keep to the schedule, though the time given to him for printing has been rather meagre.

Lastly, I thank all those, including the staff of Jnanpith, and our friends in the Archaeological Survey of India, who have helped in the production of this work.

Bharatiya Jnanpith will feel its labours and resources repaid if this publication is able to give a glimpse, in some adequate measure, of the glory and magnificence that Jaina art is.

NEW DELHI
November 13, 1974
2500th Nirvāṇa-mahotsava Day

LAKSHMI CHANDRA JAIN
Secretary
Bharatiya Jnanpith

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The following abbreviations have been used in this list: AMM(=Archaeological Museum, Mathurā); ASI (=Archaeological Survey of India); PWM (=Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay); SML (=State Museum, Lucknow).

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Part I

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER 1

EDITORIAL OBSERVATIONS

EARLY IN 1971 I WAS REQUESTED BY THE SECRETARY OF THE BHARATIYA Jnanpith, a cultural institution for the promotion of oriental research and literary publications, to edit a work on Jaina Art and Architecture, to be published on the occasion of the Twenty-fifth Centennial of the Nirvāṇa of Mahāvīra. I readily consented to accept the assignment, as this work was going to be the first of its kind ever published, and any person would be delighted to be associated with it. While Jaina monuments and sculpture figure prominently in all books of Indian art-history and there are isolated monographs and articles on individual monuments and images or groups of them, there is hardly any comprehensive work devoted exclusively to the art and architecture produced under the aegis of Jainism for the edification of the faith. Such brief surveys as exist are, besides being inadequate and sometimes inaccurate, oriented towards a particular point of view.

While, therefore, the justification for such a work cannot be doubted, it would be unwise, at the same time, to stress the 'exclusive' nature of its contents. It is difficult to conceive of any Jaina artistic or architectonic creation that does not pertain to, and can be isolated from, the mainstream of Indian art and architecture. No doubt, the special religious and mythological concepts of Jainism produced sculptural forms not found in the creations of other denominations, but even these conformed to the style of the region and period to which they belonged. Thus, while representations of the *samavasaraṇa,* Nandīśvara-dvīpa, Aṣṭāpada, etc., typical of Jaina mythology, are peculiarly Jaina, in the style of execution even they followed the contemporary style of the region in which they were produced.

Leaving the standing figures on a Mohenjo-daro seal out of consideration, the Lohanipur Tīrthaṅkara images of Mauryan age (below, chapter 7) show that in all probability Jainism had the lead in the carving of images for veneration over Buddhism and Brāhmaṇism; no images of Buddha or any Brāhmaṇical deity of that antiquity have been found, though there are contemporary or near-contemporary Yakṣa-statues, after the stylistic model of which the

Lohanipur images are carved That the practice was prevalent at the time of Mahāvīra himself is not established: the legend of the queen of Uddāyana of Vītabhayapattana (unknown from any other source), a contemporary of Mahāvīra himself, having worshipped a sandalwood statue of the Tīrthaṅkara (chapter 8) has its counterpart in the legend of Buddha's contemporary Udayana of Kauśāmbī having installed an image of Buddha prepared out of the same material.[1] (Even the similarity of the names of the two rulers may not be an accidental coincidence.)

The later images of Tīrthaṅkaras and Yakṣīs, found at Mathurā, are typical products of the flourishing Mathurā school, and except their iconographic features where they exist, there is nothing to distinguish them stylistically from the contemporary images of other denominations. The same story continues throughout all other regions and all subsequent centuries.

It is to be noted that in the images of Yakṣīs we find rudimentary iconographic details even at Mathurā, and they go on gaining ground in later ages. In the Tīrthaṅkara images such details are mostly confined to the addition of *lāñchanas* (cognizances for identification, a variable factor even in Gupta times) and of attaching Yakṣas and Yakṣīs to them. The austere conception of the Tīrthaṅkaras would not allow much embellishments to be introduced in their sculptural representation, but the same is generally true of Buddha images as well. The desire for embellishment was, however, fulfilled by a new conception of the Jīvantasvāmin-form of Mahāvīra, which has its plastic correspondence in the Crowned Buddha of east India in medieval times.

Iconographic concepts had mutual influences in other directions as well. While the *dharma-cakra* may have been a concept common both to Jainism and Buddhism,[2] the practice of flanking it by the deer was significant to the Buddhists only, recalling the scene of the First Sermon at Mṛgadāva; but we find the combination in medieval Tīrthaṅkara images as well. The scene of seven Yakṣīs preceded by Gaṇeśa in Cave 8 of Khandagiri, recalling the

[1] Samuel Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, London, 1884, I, p. 235; *Life of Hiuen-Tsiang by Hwui-Li*, London, 1882, p. 91.

[2] According to some, it was primarily a Jaina symbol, as Ṛṣabhanātha is said to have turned the wheel at Takṣaśilā, Muni Kantisagar, *Khaṇḍaharon kā Vaibhava* (in Hindi), second edition, Banaras 1959, p. 59. But the legend, including that of Ṛṣabhanātha's visit to the Yavana country (Ionia, a Greek country of west Asia), is contradicted by facts of archaeology and history, for archaeologically Taxila did not come into existence before the sixth-fifth century B.C. and the Ionian kingdom was not established before the eighth-seventh century, whereas Ṛṣabhanātha is believed to have lived in a hoary antiquity.

Brāhmaṇical Sapta-mātṛkā group, and the presence of a *liṅga* on the pedestal of a Tīrthaṅkara at Pakbira, District Purulia (below, chapter 15), tell their own tale of religious and iconographic syncretism. Nor may the association of the *jaṭā* and the bull with Ṛṣabhanātha and Śiva be purely accidental.

The Mauryan Tīrthaṅkaras of Lohanipur were perhaps installed in a brick shrine, the nature of which we do not know. The early historical Jaina shrines at Mathurā are known only through their surviving components (chapter 6). From the time when regular temples are available, we find them indistinguishable on plan and in elevation from those of the other creeds, and the *Śilpa*-texts do not tell us which should be the exclusive features in Jaina temples, evidently because it was uncalled for. While the differences between the Jaina, Brāhmaṇical and Buddhist temples would naturally lie in the deity installed in the main shrine, subsidiary deities, sculptures inspired by respective mythologies and such other things, there is no essential difference among them necessitated by any particular religious belief and practice. The plan of the Pārśvanātha temple of Khajuraho, for example, may be different from that of the Brāhmaṇical temples there, but those latter temples themselves differ *inter se*. There is nothing to show, as has been suggested,[1] that the differences in the plans are due to their forms of worship. The Khajuraho stamp is apparent on all the temples at that place.

There is no religion-wise difference in the sculptural embellishments of the religious edifices. The same *joie de vivre* is apparent in the sculpture of all religions, except where it is strictly religious in character. Call them Yakṣīs, attendants, *nāyikās*, *apsarases*, *sura-sundarīs* or *alasa-kanyās*, they appear everywhere, singly or in *mithunas*, and nothing in the austere tenets and practices of any religion could prevent their appearance in places of worship. From the very early times, as evidenced at Sanchi in the Buddhist *stūpas* or at Mathurā in the remains and miniature representations of the Jaina *stūpas*, they are present ubiquitously. Nude Yakṣīs attend on a sculptured *stūpa* at Mathurā and are seen in lascivious poses on railing-posts. While it is true that Jaina iconography does not permit the cosmic sexualism of some Tantric Brāhmaṇical and Buddhist deities, erotic couples appear covertly in the medieval Jaina temples at Khajuraho and elsewhere and very freely on the *śikhara* of the one at Arang in Chhattisgarh.[2] All this shows the futility involved

[1] Eliky Zannas and Jeannine Auboyer, *Khajuraho*, 's-Gravenhage, 1960, pp. 147-48. The authors themselves admit that there are differences between the Jaina temples at Khajuraho *inter se*.

[2] Zannas and Auboyer, *op. cit.*, p. 151; L.K. Tripathi in *Bhāratī*, Research Bulletin of the College of Indology, Banaras Hindu University, 3, 1959-60, p. 48; Muni Kantisagar, *op. cit.*, p. 125.

in the exercise of finding the influence of Tantricism, Kaula-Pāśupatism, etc., in such depictions. Untrammelled by the austere tenets of the creed at the service of which he was working, the artist followed the practices of an age which fully sanctioned, even relished, them. In the same way, while the texts forbade the Jaina monks to live in painted houses,[1] the monks did put up with delightful paintings in their cave-temples. Such was the urge of artistic embellishment.

Māna-stambhas, pillars, often ornamental and carrying the images of the same Jina on the top on all the four sides, are often found in front of Jaina temples, particularly in the south. In them one sees the counterpart of the *dhvaja-stambhas* facing the Brāhmaṇical temples and surmounted by the symbol of the enshrined deity, an early example of which is the renowned Garuḍa-pillar at Besnagar (Vidiśā) of the second century B.C.[2] In fact, it has been suspected that the pillars of Aśoka invariably stood in front of the religious edifices erected by the emperor.[3]

A typical Jaina sculpture is the *sarvatobhadrikā pratimā,* commonly called *caumukhī*, the earliest examples coming from Mathurā; it is generally a square shaft with a Jina figure on each face. Yet, a sort of *caumukhī* conception is not unknown to Buddhism; the miniature Buddhist *stūpas* sometimes bear representations of Buddha and Buddhist deities in niches on its four sides, though they may as well occur one side only.[4] Even the Great Stūpa of Sanchi was given something of a *caumukhī* appearance by the installation of a Buddha image on each side in the Gupta age.

Jaina literature abounds in references to *stūpas* but the only extant remains are of one or more *stūpas* in Kaṅkālī-ṭīlā at Mathurā of the centuries immediately before and after Christ. The components and representations

[1] Muni Kantisagar, *op. cit.*, pp. 24-25.

[2] Recent excavation has brought to light the remains of a temple in the vicinity and the foundations of other pillars in a row, *Indian Archaeology 1964-65—a Review*, New Delhi, 1965, p. 19: *ibid., 1965-66*, 1966, p. 23.

[3] A. Ghosh, 'The pillars of Aśoka—their purpose', *East and West*, New Series,17, Rome, 1967, pp. 273-75.

[4] On the basis of the existence of four spacious shrines, in which originally must have been installed deities, on the second terrace of the Paharpur temple, the temple has been analogized to a Jaina *caumukhī*, S.K. Saraswati in *Struggle for Empire*, ed. R.C. Majumdar and A.D. Pusalker, Bombay, 1957, pp. 637-38. But this ignores the main shrine on the top of the terraced structure, the existence of which can easily be conjectured from the square brick shell of substantially thick walls enclosing a brick pavement, K.N. Dikshit, *Excavations at Paharpur*, Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, 55, Delhi, 1936, p. 15.

of *stūpas* in sculpture found there reveal hardly any characteristic that is not known in contemporary Buddhist *stūpas*. Also, the origin of the Jaina *stūpas* could not have been different in nature or date from the Buddhist ones. The references to earlier *stūpas*, such as the one at Vaiśālī dedicated to Munisuvrata, the twentieth Tīrthaṅkara, believed to be a contemporary of Rāma, are paralleled by similar references in Buddhist literature. And the *stūpa* of Kanakamuni, a Past Buddha, at Nigliva in the Nepalese *tarai*, is authenticated by an inscription of Aśoka. The appellation *deva-nirmita* applied to a Jaina Mathurā *stūpa* (chapter 6) may not lead us very far into antiquity; it may only show that the *stūpa* was held in great veneration by the devotees.

Enough has been said above in a stray way to show (if any showing was required at all) that Jaina sculpture and monuments cannot and should not be viewed apart from the main fund of India's cultural heritage, of which it forms an important and integral element. In fulfilment of their spiritual needs in a visual form, the Jainas followed the same lines of development through the ages as the followers of other Indian creeds did, together, of course, with the concrete representations of whatever was special in their mythological and religious beliefs; in these cases, again, they did not go out of the main track of artistic and architectural evolution in India. In their west-Indian temples of the medieval age they outshone other Indian temples by supremely baroque exuberance of ornamentation but within the framework of the contemporary Indian norm.

If the following pages demonstrate how rich is the concrete (apart from the spiritual) donation of Jainism to Indian culture, the present work will have amply fulfilled its purpose.

* * *

There is no vestige of Jaina antiquities outside India. The Ceylonese Buddhist chronicle *Mahāvaṁsa* refers to the construction of a Nirgrantha monastery by king Pāṇḍukābhaya at his capital.[1] The appearance of the Jainas in Ceylon in the fourth century B.C. is not surprising, as Jainism was by then already known in Orissa and probably in south India. But no relics of the monastery have been identified. Nor is there any reliable evidence of the spread of Jainism in south-east Asia, though it was no doubt visited by the merchants (some of them must have been Jainas) from west India. But unlike Buddhism and Brāhmaṇism, the creed does not seem to have found a strong

[1] *Mahāvaṁso*, ed. N.K. Bhagat, Devanāgarī Pali Text Series, 12, second edition, Bombay, 1959, p. 74; Hiralal Jain, *Bhāratīya Saṁskṛti men Jaina-Dharmā kā Yoga-dāna*, Bhopal, 1962, p. 35.

foothold there.[1] The same is the case with the north-west—the Gandhāra region[2] and beyond.

* * *

To turn now to the present work. The discussions that I had with Shri C. Sivaramamurti, Director of the National Museum, and Shri M.N. Deshpande, Joint Director General (now Director General) of the Archaeological Survey of India, a few other officers of the Survey and, of course, with the Secretary of the Bharatiya Jnanpith, resulted in the preparation of a scheme of the work. Competent scholars were invited to contribute chapters to cover the scheme and a time-schedule was laid down. As usual with a co-operative endeavour of this kind, some scholars indicated their inability to write anything, a large number sent their contributions in time and a few did so at the last minute. In some cases the chapters that were received very late were found to be sketchy and incomplete, and when this was pointed out to the respective authors they wanted more time to fill in the lacunae, as if the publication could wait indefinitely and the editor would remain tied down to the work for any length of time. The same is the story of the illustrative material. In this case the rich photographic resources of the Archaeological Survey of India and the large collection of photographs of Jaina antiquities being built up by the Bharatiya Jnanpith filled in the gaps, which, however, still remain.

All this will explain the strong and weak points of the work, which the reader will see for himself. Nobody can be more acutely conscious of the vulnerable parts of the book than myself, who had to go through each chapter many a time at all stages and arrange the illustrations.

When the work of the collection of material had advanced to a degree, I had to leave for Indonesia in February 1973 on a one-year assignment. To be fair to the Bharatiya Jnanpith, I unconditionally resigned my editorial appointment, so that my absence did not affect the progress of the work, and

[1] In the Śiva temple at Prambanan in Indonesia some see Jaina influence, cf. Jain *op. cit.*, p. 341, following Fergusson. This is without any strong justification: what we see in the temple is the main deity Śiva (supposed by some to be a deified dead ruler) in the front shrine and subsidiary deities in the shrines on the three sides—the *pārśva-devatā* concept.

[2] While the Jainas must have been present in the Gandhāra region (Hiuen Tsang saw them there in the seventh century), there is no justification for Marshall's doubtful supposition that some *stūpas* in Sirkap, the second city of Taxila, were Jaina in affiliation, John Marshall, *Guide to Taxila*, Cambridge, 1960, pp. 69, 72-74. See below, chapter 8. The tradition of the Tīrthaṅkaras having visited the north-west is apocryphal, just as that of Buddha having visited it, Beal, *op. cit*, 1884, I, pp. xxx (Fa Hien) and 67, etc (Hiuen Tsang).

strongly advised the Secretary of the Jnanpith to entrust the work to some other person who could do better justice to it. When, however, I returned to India in February this year, I found to my surprise that the work had been kept waiting for me. I deeply appreciated the confidence shown in me by the authorities of the Jnanpith and readily resumed the thread. Not that no progress had been made in my absence. Some more chapters had been received; it had also been decided to add sections on Jaina art-objects in museums in India and, as far as possible, abroad and competent persons had already been approached to write on the collections in their charge. The material that had been received has been incorporated, but here also it remains inexhaustive for reasons comparable with what have been stated above. Some museums, such as the Archaeological Museum at Mathurā and the State Museum at Lucknow, have been deliberately omitted, as their contents have been largely covered in the chapters on Monuments and Sculpture. It may be added that the Bharatiya Jnanpith is organizing an exhibition of Jaina art-objects on the occasion of the *Nirvāṇa-mahotsava* and will publish a catalogue thereof.

Something may be said to explain the scheme of the work. After a few introductory chapters comes the main theme of the work, viz. Monuments and Sculpture, which has been divided into the following periods: (1) 300 B.C. to A.D. 300; (2) A.D. 300 to 600; (3) A.D. 600 to 1000; (4) A.D. 1000 to 1300; and (5) A.D. 1300 to 1800. This periodization is more or less conventional, corresponding respectively to what have been called the early historical, the classical (at least so far as north India is concerned), the early medieval, the medieval and the late medieval. This division has not always been easy to follow. For example, when a sculpture has to be dated on the basis of its style, more than one author would be likely to include it in his respective chapter, for slight difference of opinion is bound to exist in such cases. Editorial discretion has been exercised in retaining it in one chapter and deleting it from the other. The same difficulty has been experienced in the case of monuments; nay, here the difficulty is enhanced by the fact that additions and alterations to temples make the division of a complex into more than one period difficult without a breaking up of the complex. Here also I had to take an arbitrary decision: in a few cases a complex has been dealt with under a particular period even though some of its components belong to a different one.

Most of the periods enumerated above have been divided into regions: (1) north India; (2) east India; (3) central India; (4) west India; (5) the Deccan; and (6) south India. Here also the division has not proved altogether satisfactory. As a working-basis, however, north India has been defined as comprising

what is really north India with the exception of south-east Rajasthan (which has been included under west India) and the Bundelkhand part of Uttar Pradesh (which has gone to central India), ancient cultural and political affiliations being a general consideration. East India has been taken to consist of Bihar, West Bengal, Assam and Orissa. (Bangladesh has been included in this region in one or two chapters; this has been loose, I admit, and will not, I also hope, be regarded as a political motivation. But the scanty Jaina remains there did not seem to justify a separate regionalization.) Central India means Madhya Pradesh and Bundelkhand. West India, as stated above, comprises Gujarat and south-east Rajasthan. While the Deccan is self-explanatory, south India includes the southern Districts of Karnataka and, of course, Tamilnadu, Andhra Pradesh and Kerala. The bounds have sometimes been infringed, but such cases are excusable.

It should also be noticed that under the periods 300 B.C. to A.D. 300 and A.D. 300 to 600, 'north India' has given place to 'Mathurā'. This is justified, as almost the entire north-Indian Jaina material of the periods comes from Mathurā.[1]

Central India does not figure in the period 300 B.C. to A.D. 300, for the simple reason that there are no Jaina relics in this region-period group, though there is a plethora of legends on the Vikramāditya-Kālakācārya-Gardabhilla-Sātavāhana cycle.[2] A Jaina association of some of the paintings in the Jogimārā-Sītābeṅga caves on the Ramgarh hill in District Surguja has been suggested,[3] but the paintings require further study.

[1] A possible omission, which may be made good here, under the period 300 B.C. to A.D. 300 is the artificial cave at Pabhosa near Kauśāmbī, District Allahabad. As described by A. Führer, *Monumental Antiquities and Inscriptions in the North-western Province and Oudh*, Archaeological Survey of India, New Series II (=New Imperial Series XII), Allahabad, 1891, pp. 143-44, the cave, high up on the face of a hill, measures 2·7 by 1·4 m, and is 1 m, in height. It has a door, ·66 by ·53 m., and two windows, ·48 by ·43 m. Inside, on the southern side, is a stone bed with pillow. Apart from some inscriptions in Gupta characters, there are two inscriptions, saying that the excavation of the cave was done by one Āṣāḍhasena, who, besides other genealogical relations, was the maternal uncle of king Bahasatimitra. This Bahasatimitra (Bṛhaspatimitra) is usually identified with the king of Magadha of the same name, defeated by Khāravela of Orissa in the first or, less probably, second century B.C. The excavation was done for the Kāśyapīya Arhats. As Mahāvīra belonged to Kaśyapa-*gotra*, it has been thought that the Arhats for whom the cave was excavated were Jainas, Hiralal Jain, *op. cit.*, p. 309.

[2] U.P. Shah has drawn my attention to his article 'Suvarṇa-bhūmi men Kālakācārya' (details not available), in which he shows that Kālakācārya was a historical figure.

[3] Rai Krishnadasa, *Bhārata kī Citra-kalā*, Allahabad, 1962, p. 2. See T. Bloch in *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report*, 1903-04, Calcutta, 1906, pp. 12 ff. A thorough and

Again, no Jaina relics in the Deccan in the periods 300 B.C. to A.D. 300 and A.D. 300 to 600[1] and in south India in the latter have come to notice. There are therefore no chapters on them for these periods.

The whole work is divided into Parts. Some of them may not be large enough to qualify for that term, but it has been found to be a convenient mode of grouping the chapters. The work will be bound in three handy volumes. In the first volume have been included the introductory chapters (forming Part I) and those on Monuments and Sculpture belonging to 300 B.C. to A.D. 300 (Part II), A.D. 300 to 600 (Part III) and A.D. 600 to 1000 (Part IV).[2] The subsequent volumes will consist of: the remaining two chapters on Monuments and Sculpture, respectively of A.D. 1000 to 1300 (Part V) and 1300 to 1800 (Part VI); Paintings—Mural and Miniature; chapters on Jaina Antiquities in Museums; miscellaneous chapters; a glossary of technical terms (if considered necessary); and a complete index to all the volumes.

In transliterating ancient Indian words the international system, recommended by the International Congress of Orientalists in 1894, has been generally followed. Modern personal names and place-names (except those where ancient names persist or have been revived, e.g. Mathurā, Vārāṇasī) have been left without diacritical marks. Some *ad hoc* system, not very strict, has been followed in the names of books in modern Indian languages.

I must define here the extent to which my editorial responsibility goes. I have in some cases made verbal alterations and even re-arranged the matter, adding cross-references to draw attention to comparable and divergent views. I have also expressed my own views on a particular question where there are differences of opinion, but such cases are very rare. I have in a few cases deleted, if arbitrarily, some portions from a chapter if I felt that they should go to another; in a few cases again I have allowed certain portions to remain, even though they might have reasonably gone to another. I have, also rarely, omitted photographs submitted by the authors and included others not of their

illustrated report on the caves prepared by M. Venkataramayya in 1961 is available in the archives of the Archaeological Survey of India.

[1] Jain, *op. cit.*, p. 311, following James Fergusson and James Burgess, *Cave Temples of India*, London, 1880, p. 491, says that the group of Dharasinva caves, not far from Osmanabad, are Jaina, as Tīrthaṅkara figures appear in them. But it is more likely that they were originally Buddhist and later on used by the Jainas. The excavation of the caves took place between A.D. 500 and 650.

[2] At the last minute, owing to exigencies of printing, it was decided to omit the chapter on South India, A.D. 600 to 1000, from volume I and include it in volume II.

choice.[1] For all these discretions I do take the responsibility, as also for such printing-errors as might have crept in. But I must make it clear that I do not take the responsibility for the accuracy of everything that has been said by the different authors, who must remain responsible for their statements and views. Nor am I concerned with the Hindi translation of the work, which the Bharatiya Jnanpith proposes to publish.

* * *

In editing this work and seeing it through the press, I have received ungrudging help from different quarters. I must start the list with Shri L.C. Jain, Secretary of the Bharatiya Jnanpith, for entrusting the work to me (though it has involved many problems and much strenuous worry, particularly at the later stages), but much more for his unfailing courtesy and understanding. It has uniformly been a pleasure to deal with him, and I thank him immensely.

Shri Gopilal Amar and Shri Virendra Kumar Jain, both of the Research Department of the Jnanpith, have greatly assisted me, by sharing the correspondence, promptly sorting out the required illustrations and running about to different places whenever required. Shri Amar, being a scholar of Sanskrit, the Prakrits and Jainology, has also rendered some technical assistance. I thank them, as also the assistants and typists of the Jnanpith, who have always been helpful.

It is needless to say that without the co-operation of the authors who responded to our request for their contributions, the publication of the work would not have been possible. I am grateful to them for their co-operation.

During my absence in Indonesia, a few chapters had been sent to Dr Jyoti Prasad Jain, former Professor of History in the University of Lucknow, for his comments. Many of the comments that he kindly made have been utilized with due acknowledgement. I am thankful to him for his valuable observations.

My long association with Shri C. Sivaramamurti, Director of the National Museum, and with the officers of the Archaeological Survey of India have stood me in good stead in my task. Shri Sivaramamurti and Shri M.N. Deshpande, the Director General of the Survey, have from the very start taken a deep interest in the work. Two young officers of the Survey, Shri M.C. Joshi, Superintending Archaeologist, and Shri B.M. Pande, Deputy Superintending

[1] A finally-typed copy of a chapter was, at the earlier stage, sent to the respective author for approval, but later on the procedure could not be continued due to shortness of time.

Archaeologist, have been of great assistance throughout. Shri Joshi helped me in many technical matters, and Shri Pande checked up the references and filled in many missing details, besides ensuring a uniformity as far as possible. It has not been possible for him to check all the references, due to the non-availability of the relevant journals and books, particularly some Jaina texts, in the Central Archaeological Library. Shri Pande's help did not end there : at the slightest hint from me he readily undertook to go through the proofs and has done the task, particularly arduous in a work like this. The photographers and draughtsmen of the Survey were always willing to help and promptly did whatever was required of them. All of them have earned my thanks.

I must make a special mention of Dr R. Champakalakshmi, Associate Professor in the Centre for Historical Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, who became associated with this work at a late stage. While her specialized knowledge of Jainism in south India enabled her to produce the chapters that appear in her name in a remarkably short time, she readily consented to, and did, help me in editing the other chapters on the Deccan and south India and in sorting out the photographs to illustrate them. I am beholden of her. Dr B.D. Chattopadhyaya, Associate Professor in the same Centre, volunteered to partake in the task of proof-correction. To him also my thanks are due.

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CHAPTER 2

THE BACKGROUND AND TRADITION

JAINISM IS ONE OF THE OLDEST RELIGIONS IN INDIA. ACCORDING TO JAINA tradition, the religion is eternal, having been revealed repeatedly by as many twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras.[1] The first Tīrthaṅkara was Ṛṣabha and the twenty-fourth and last one was Vardhamāna Mahāvīra. Their names, colours, cognizances (*lāñchana*), attendant Yakṣas and Yakṣīs and places of birth and *nirvāṇa* are given below:[2]

1. Ṛṣabhanātha or Ādinātha; golden; bull; Gomukha; Cakreśvarī; Vinītanagara; (Digambara) Kailāsa or (Śvetambara) Aṣṭāpada.

2. Ajitanātha; golden; elephant; Mahāyakṣa; (Dig.) Rohiṇī or (Śve.) Ajitabalā; Ayodhyā; Sametaśikhara.

3. Sambhavanātha; golden; horse; Trimukha; (Dig.) Prajñapti or (Śve.) Duritāri; Śrāvastī; Sametaśikhara.

4. Abhinandananātha; golden; ape; (Dig.) Yakṣeśvara or (Śve.) Yakṣa Nāyaka; (Dig.) Vajraśṛṅkhalā or (Śve.) Kālikā. Ayodhyā; Sametaśikhara.

5. Sumatinātha; golden; heron; Tumburu; (Dig.) Puruṣadattā or (Śve.) Mahākālī; Ayodhyā; Sametaśikhara.

[1] The interval of time that elapsed between each Tīrthaṅkara, according to the Jaina tradition, is almost unbelievable, especially as one goes backwards, being measured in *palyopamas* and *sāgaropamas*. All this is intended to suggest the hoary antiquity of the religion.

[2] The various symbols, as will be seen from the list, are drawn mostly from animal and vegetation life. *Svastika*, *śrīvatsa* and *nandyāvarta*, which traditionally have auspicious qualities, also possess great antiquity. Thunderbolt is the only object which, with its close association with Indra, is an *astra* used in warfare. These symbols appear to suggest animistic worship and sublimation of the qualities possessed by chosen animals and vegetal forms. Some of the symbols are also represented on Harappan seals, but no deduction is possible from such a similarity. Of the places of birth, so far as they can be identified, the westernmost is Mathurā and the easternmost Campā, there being no place which can definitely be located in central India, the Deccan or south India. The spot of *nirvāṇa* is mostly Sammetaśikhara (Parasnath hill in Hazaribagh District); Nemināthа's *nirvāṇa* took place in Girinagara in Kathiawad, due to his belonging to the Yādava dynasty, which shifted itself from Mathurā to west India.

6. Padmaprabha; red; lotus-flower; Kusuma; (Dig.) Manovegā or Manoguptā or (Śve.) Śyāmā Acyutā; Kauśāmbī; Sametaśikhara.

7. Supārśvanātha; golden; (Dig.) *nandyāvarta* or (Śve.) *svastika*; (Dig.) Varanandin or (Śve.) Mātaṅga; (Dig.) Kālī or (Śve.) Śāntā; Vārāṇasī; Sametaśikhara.

8. Candraprabha; white; (Dig.) half moon; (Dig.) Vijaya or Śyama or (Śve.) Vijaya; (Dig.) Jvālāmālinī or (Śve.) Bhṛkuṭī; Candrapurī; Sametaśikhara.

9. Suvidhinātha or Puṣpadanta; white; alligator; Ajita; (Dig.) Mahākālī or (Śve.) Sutārakā; Kākandinagara; Sametaśikhara.

10. Śītalanātha; golden; (Dig.) *svastika* or (Śve.) *śrīvatsa*; Brahmā or Brahmeśvara; (Dig.) Mānavī or (Śve.) Aśokā; Bhadrapura; Sametaśikhara.

11. Śreyāṁsanātha; golden; rhinoceros; (Dig.) Iśvara or (Śve.) Yakṣeṭ; (Dig.) Gaurī or (Śve.) Mānavī; Siṁhapura; Sametaśikhara.

12. Vāsupūjya; red; buffallo; Kumāra; (Dig.) Gāndhārī or (Śve.) Caṇḍā; Campāpurī; Campāpurī.

13. Vimalanātha; golden; boar; Ṣaṇmukha; (Dig.) Vairoṭī or (Śve.) Viditā; Kāmpilyapura; Sametaśikhara.

14. Anantanātha; golden; falcon; Pātāla; (Dig.) Anantamatī or (Śve.) Aṅkuśā; Ayodhyā; Sametaśikhara.

15. Dharmanātha; golden; *vajra*; Kinnara; (Dig.) Mānasī or (Śve.) Kandarpā; Ratnapurī; Sametaśikhara.

16. Śāntinātha; golden; deer; (Dig.) Kimpuruṣa or (Śve.) Garuḍa; (Dig.) Mahāmānasī or (Śve.) Nirvāṇī; (Dig.) Hastināpura or (Śve.) Gajapura; Sametaśikhara.

17. Kunthunātha; golden; goat; Gandharva; (Dig.) Vijayā or (Śve.) Balā; (Dig.) Hastināpura or (Śve.) Gajapura; Sametaśikhara.

18. Aranātha; yellow or golden; (Dig.) *tagara*-flower or fish or (Śve.) *nandyāvarta;* (Dig.) Kendra or (Śve.) Yakṣendra; (Dig.) Ajitā or (Śve.) Dhanā; (Dig.) Hastināpura or (Śve.) Gajapura; Sametaśikhara.

19. (Dig.) Mallinātha or (Śve.) Mallī,[1] a woman; blue; pitcher; Kubera; (Dig.) Aparājitā or (Śve.) Dharaṇapriyā; Mithilā; Sametaśikhara.

[1] Malli was a female Tīrthaṅkara according to Śvetāmbara tradition. The Digambaras

20. Munisuvrata; black; tortoise; Varuṇa; (Dig.) Bahurūpiṇī or (Śve.) Naradattā; Rājagṛha; Sametaśikhara.

21. Naminātha; golden; blue lotus; Bhṛkuṭī; (Dig.) Cāmuṇḍī or (Śve.) Gāndhārī; Mithilā; Sametaśikhara.

22. Ariṣṭanemi; black; conch-shell; (Dig.) Sarvāhṇa or (Śve.) Gomedha; (Dig.) Kūṣmāṇḍinī or (Śve.) Ambikā; Śauriyapura; Girinagara.

23. Pārśvanātha; blue; snake; Dharaṇendra; Padmāvatī; Vārāṇasī; Sametaśikhara.

24. Vardhamāna Mahāvīra; golden; lion; Mātaṅga; Siddhāyikā, Kuṇḍagrāma; Pāvāpurī.

Vardhamāna Mahāvīra, the last of the twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras, also called as Nātaputta, (Nāti-putta), was preceded by Pārśva, who is said to have died at the ripe age of one hundred years, and two hundred and fifty years before the *nirvāṇa* of Mahāvīra, which is placed in 527 B.C. In fact, Mahāvīra's parents followed Pārśva (*Mahāvīrassa ammāpiyaro Pāsāvacchijjā—Ācārāṅga-sūtra*). Further, the *Kalpa-sūtra* refers to Mahāvīra as one following the straight road which the Jinas had taught. The famous dialogue between Keśin, the disciple of Pārśva, with Gotama, the disciple of Mahāvīra, occurring in chapter XXIII of the *Uttarādhyayana-sūtra*, one of the earliest texts of the Jaina canon, almost conclusively helps to bestow historicity on Pārśva. The essential unity of the four-fold religion (*cāujjāma-dhamma*) and the five-fold religion (*pañca-sikkhiyo*) of Mahāvīra is also emphasized. Thus, we are on sure grounds in placing Pārśva, the twenty-third Tīrthaṅkara having lived between 877-777 B.C. Pārśva is said to have been born at Vārāṇasī and, like all the Tīrthaṅkaras, in a royal Kṣatriya family. From the biographical details of Pārśva, we gather that the cities he visited comprised Ahicchatta (Ahicchatra in Bareilly District), Āmalakappa (near Vaiśālī in Vaishali District), Hatthināura (Hastināpura in Meerut District), Kampillapura (Kampil in Farrukhabad District), Kosambī (Kauśāmbī near Allahabad), Rāyagiha (Rajgir in District Bihar Sharif), Sāgeya and Sāvatthī (Saheth-Maheth, Districts Gonda-Bahraich). The *nirvāṇa* of Pārśva took place on the Sammetaśikhara (Parasnath hill situated in Hazaribagh District). Some of the cities where systematic archaeological excavation has taken place, like Vārāṇasī (Rajghat), Ahicchatra, Hastināpura and Kauśāmbī, do go back to a period a few centuries before the sixth century B.C. on the basis of pottery, including the Painted Grey Ware found at these places.

deny this, as according to them no female was entitled to liberation. They name the Tīrthaṅkara as Mallinātha.

It will, therefore, be within the scope of possibility that these places were associated with the activities of Pārśva. However, when we go beyond Pārśva, we get into a realm of legend, both in regard to unbelievable differences of time that elapsed between each of the preceding Tīrthaṅkaras and the description of their personage.

According to the established tradition, Ariṣṭanemi or Nemi, the twenty-second Tīrthaṅkara was born in the Yādava family of Śauriyapura (near Bateshwar in District Agra, locally known as Sauripur) of Samudravijaya, the eldest son of Andhaka-vṛṣṇi. He is mentioned as the cousin of Kṛṣṇa, the *Mahābhārata* hero. This Tīrthaṅkara, as a young prince, was to be married to a princess called Rājulamatī, the daughter of Ugrasena, king of Girinagara (modern Junagadh). However, the prince, while proceeding to Girinagara, saw herds of cattle kept in enclosures to be slaughtered for the marriage-feast. This revelation caused remorse in his heart and he renounced worldly life. It is said that he performed penance on the Girnar mountain, became a Kevalin and passed away on the mountain after many years. It appears that this Tīrthaṅkara was responsible for emphasizing *ahiṁsā*, the first cardinal principle of Jainism. Although he is traditionally connected with Kṛṣṇa[1] of the *Mahābhārata* tradition, being his cousin, it is difficult to stretch this legendary association in definite terms and to bestow historicity to this Tīrthaṅkara. Suffice to say that if the tradition has any basis the period when Nemi lived was anterior to Pārśva.

Going back we find that the twenty-first Tīrthaṅkara was Nami, the king of Mithilā, and belonged to the family of Janaka, the philosopher-king of the Upaniṣadic times. Hiralal Jain[2] has tried to suggest that this legendary association may have some vague historical basis. His contention stems out of the following: The ninth chapter of the *Uttarādhyayana-sūtra* describes the story of the renunciation of Nami, and it is here that occurs a celebrated verse (9) quoted below, which has parallels in the Buddhist *Mahājanaka-Jātaka* and the *Śānti-parvan* of the *Mahābhārata:*

(1) *suhaṁ vasāmo jīvāmo jesiṁ me natthi kiñcana. Mihilāe dajjhamāṇāe na me dajjhahi kiñcana.*

(2) *susukhaṁ vata jīvāmo vesam no natthi kiñcana. Mithilāye dahamānāye na me kiñci adahyate.*

(3) *Mithilāyāṁ pradīptāyāṁ na me kiñcana dahyate.*

[1] It may, however, be mentioned that Kṛṣṇa is included in the list of sixty-three *Śalākā-puruṣas* as one of the nine Vāyudevas.

[2] Hiralal Jain, *Bhāratīya Saṁskṛti men Jaina-Dharma kā Yoga-dāna*, Bhopal 1962, p. 19.

This parallelism of thought and expression cannot, however, be stretched too far, and all that can be reasonably concluded is that all the three texts draw upon a common source and extol a king who was the embodiment of exemplary renunciation (*vairāgya*).

When we consider the tradition in respect of the first Tīrthaṅkara Ṛṣabha, Hiralal[1] points out both Vedic and Purāṇic references. The Vedic tradition is embodied in the tenth *maṇḍala* of the *Ṛgveda-saṁhitā* (2-3), where *vātaraśana-munis* are described as putting on dirty (*piśaṅga*) garments (or as if they appear to be of *piśaṅga* complexion on account of their dirt-covered bodies). The *munis* are further described as living in an extatic mood (*unmāditā*) and practising the vow of speechlessness (*mauna*). In the preceding verse the *munis* are called *keśin* (those with matted locks of hair).

This description of the *vātaraśana-munis*, also described as *keśin*, may, according to Hiralal, refer to monks of an order of which Ṛṣabha was perhaps the most prominent. The Vedic description of these *munis* and that appearing in the *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* have some significance in understanding the distinctive nature and antiquity of Jaina asceticism.

While tracing the development of Indian mysticism, R.D. Ranade[2] quotes on the basis of *Bhāgavata-Purāṇa* (V, 5-6) an interesting account of a mystic of a different kind, whose utter carelessness of the body was the supreme mark of his God-realization. To quote: 'We read how, having entrusted to his son Bharata the kingdom of the earth, he determined to lead a life of holy isolation from the world; how he began to live like a blind or a deaf or a dumb man; how he inhabited alike towns and villages, mines and gardens, mountains and forests; how he never minded however much he might be insulted by people, who threw stones and dung at him or micturited on his body or subjected him to all sorts of humiliation; how in spite of all these things, his shining face and his strong built body, his powerful hands and smile on his lips attracted the women in the royal harems; how careless of his body as he was, he discharged his excreta at the very place at which he took his food, how, nevertheless, his excreta smelt so fragrant that the air within ten miles around became fragrant by it smell; how he was in sure possession of all the grades of happiness mentioned in the Upaniṣads, how he ultimately decided to throw over his body; how, when he had first let his subtle body go out of his physical body he was travelling through the Karnataka and other provinces, and where, while

[1] *Op. cit.*, pp. 13-17.

[2] R. D. Ranade, *Indian Mysticism : Mysticism in Maharashtra*, Poona, 1933, p. 9.

he was wandering like a lunatic naked and lone, he was caught in the midst of a great fire kindled by the friction of bamboo trees, and how he finally offered his body in that fire as a holocaust to God.' This description tallies substantially with the Jaina tradition which supplies other details of his early life. It is said that he had two wives Sumaṅgalā and Sunandā; the former gave birth to Bharata and Brāhmī and the later to Bāhubali and Sundarī. Sumaṅgalā also gave birth to ninty-eight children. The tradition also tells us that the family in which he was born was known as Ikṣvāku. It is said that when Ṛṣabhadeva was a young boy, he was sitting on the lap of his father, when Indra came there with *ikṣu* (sugarcane) in his hand. Seeing the sugarcane Ṛṣabhadeva put forward his hand endowed with auspicious signs to grasp it. Indra, realizing the young child's taste for sugarcane, named the family as Ikṣvāku.

The tradition goes on that Ṛsabhadeva was the first person to start the institution of marriage. He is said to have also initiated use of *asi* and *masī*. He is also known to have been the originator of agriculture. The Brāhmī-lipi and the art of writing (with ink, *masī*) is also attributed to him. It is not possible to uncover the mist of legend and to bring to light the personality of this traditional originator of the Jaina doctrine. One thing is quite certain, that asceticism in India has a great antiquity and Jaina ascetic practices as exemplified by Ṛṣabhadeva were strikingly different from the Brāhmaṇical tradition. This difference becomes more pronouced in the Upaniṣadic period, although it would not be easy to trace a very logical development of the different branches of asceticism. Ranade[1] points out: 'There is evidence to suppose that the philosophical speculations of the Upaniṣadic period were very largely influenced by a set of wandering ascetics and teachers following their own quaint and mystic practices . . . As already explained the Upaniṣadic impulse to give up all worldly ties and take to a life of homeless wanderings can be satisfactorily explained only by postulating an extraneous influence of this nature. Asceticism on so liberal a scale could not have been, as Rhys Davids has imagined, constituted out of the ranks of such of the Brahmacārins or Vedic students as preferred not to enter upon the life of the householder, but to lead a sort of a wandering mendicant life; still less can it have come, as Deussen thought, merely as the result of an attempt to give an external or practical clothing to the metaphysical doctrine of the knowledge of the ātman, which was designed to lead to (1) the removal of all desire and hence the possibility of all immoral conduct for which *saṃnyāsa* or renunciation was the readiest means available, and (2) the removal of the conciousness of plurality by cultivating yogic concentration

[1] R. D. Ranade and S. K. Belvalkar, *History of Indian Philosophy : The Creative Period*, Poona, p. 400.

through the prescribed discipline of *prāṇāyāma* and the rest. A sweeping change in the habits and ideals of a people as implied by the institution of *pravrajyā* (homeless wandering) and asceticism as a regular *āśrama* or a recognized mode of life does not normally take place merely as the corollary or the inevitable logical consequence of the metaphysical teaching that may be in vogue for the time. At the same time, seeing the definite and frequent references to swarms of religious mendicants—*saṁbahulā nānā-titthiyā . . . nānā-diṭṭhikā nānā-khantikā nānā-rucikā nānā-diṭṭhi-nissaya-nissitā* (in large crowds, acknowledging different teachers . . . entertaining different views, following different practices, possessing different tastes, and firmly believing in different metaphysical beliefs) abound in the literature of the period, one would be justified in thinking that this phenomenon owes its sudden appearance to some assignable *external* causes, such as the contact of the eastward advancing vanguard of the torch-bearers of the Aryan culture with some other races of peoples in a different stage of cultural evolution. The institution of itinerant asceticism borrowed from this other source may have been, as is quite natural, slightly modified with a view to its assimilation with the rest of the Aryan code of conduct and discipline; but the inherent tendency of the newer institution, even while leading a life of abstraction from society in the recesses of the forests or mountain-caves, come down once in a while to preach philosophy from door to door and no longer in learned hieretic conclaves involving as it of course did a corresponding change in the intellectual calibre of the various arguments and appeals, was bound in the long run to be subversive of the established order of things. The texts that we regard as our sources for the post-Upaniṣadic period, viz. the Jain and Buddhistic scriptures, and portions of the *Mahābhārata*, are full of eloquent descriptions of the various resorts of hermits, recluses and ascetics engaged in intellectual discussions and spiritual research on all sorts of subjects, each master-teacher or *Gaṇācārya* as he was called attracting a large following of *Gaṇas* or disciples, whose number was often regarded as an index to the worth of the teacher.'

This long extract helps, to a great extent, in satisfactorily understanding the distinctive nature and origin of Jaina asceticism which was distinct from Brāhmaṇic asceticism. This path of the *śramaṇas* inculcates complete *nivṛtti* (turning away completely from worldly life) and *pravrajyā* enjoining total *anagāratva* (the state of homelessness), together with the vow of non-killing, truthfulness, non-stealing and celibacy. The concept of *tri-gupti* or the total abstinence by mind (*manas*), body (*kāya*) and speech (*vāc*) further tends to sharpen the ascetic ideal to a point that casting of one's body by prolonged fast (*saṁlekhanā*) is recommended in this and no other religious order. Among other distinctive

ascetic practices of the Jaina faith mention may be made of *ālocanā* or confession of sins and the daily ceremony of *pratikramaṇa* or expiation of sins.

Another distinctive practice of the Jaina ascetics is the performance of penance in the *kāyotsarga*-posture, in which the monk stands erect with his hands or his sides completely giving up the care of the body. This posture, according to some scholars, is depicted on a Harappan seal (fig. I), where, in

FIG. I. Mohenjo-daro : steatite seal

the upper register an ascetic standing in the *kāyotsarga*-posture in a jungle is being worshipped by a lay-follower seated beside a bull, and in the lower register are seven figures standing in the so-called *kāyotsarga*-posture. This identification is taken to suggest the existence of Jainism in the Harappan times. Other scholars have also suggested the identification of the famous seal bearing the so-called Paśupati with a Tīrthaṅkara (perhaps Ṛṣabhanātha). Such 'identifications' cannot be taken as conclusive unless the script appearing on these seals is deciphered.

To conclude, it may be stated that the tradition of asceticism as preached by Pārśva and Mahāvīra has undoubtedly a great antiquity but the systematic codification of the Jaina faith as distinct from other creeds of various other wandering ascetics was the contribution of Pārśva and Mahāvīra. The enumeration of twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras in the Jaina canon is an attempt to commemorate and glorify earlier or contemporary exponents of this doctrine of renunciation so as to bestow a hoary antiquity to the religion. It would not, therefore, be cogent to accord an absolute and acceptable time-scale to the Tīrthaṅkaras prior to Pārśva or accept their historicity in the present state of our knowledge.

M. N. DESHPANDE

CHAPTER 3

THE EXPANSION OF JAINISM

MAHĀVĪRA

NO DETAILS ARE AVAILABLE REGARDING THE SPREAD OR OTHERWISE OF Jainism within the long period of two hundred and fifty years that elapsed between the *nirvāṇa* of Pārśva and the rise of Mahāvīra. It appears, however, from the *Sūtrakṛtāṅga*[1] that during this period as many as three hundred and sixty-three schools and sects arose. What relation they had with Jainism is not clear. It it quite likely that after the *nirvāṇa* of Pārśvanātha there was no outstanding figure who could re-organize and spread the Jaina faith.

The situation, however, changed with Mahāvīra, who, by dint of his character, foresight and dynamic force, spread and organized Jainism. Born at Kuṇḍagrāma, a suburb of Vaiśālī, now called Basukund, his mother hailed from the famous city of Vaiśālī (Basarh in Vaishali District in north Bihar). Mahāvīra's *nirvāṇa* took place at Pāvā, which is equated with Pāvāpurī in Patna District. Thus, he was associated very closely with Bihar.

The details of his life are well-known. At the age of thirty he renounced the world. For the next twelve years he underwent penance, and after that, for thirty years, led the life of a wandering missionary. The date of his *nirvāṇa*, as traditionally accepted, is 527 B.C. However, some scholars are in favour of 467 B.C.

During the span of his thirty years' missionary activity he moved from place to place. The following places said to have been visited by him give an idea of the sphere of his influence: Ālavi or Ālambhika between Śrāvastī and Rājagṛha), Asthikagrāma (on the road from Vaiśālī to Pāvā), Bhadrika (modern Monghyr), Bhogapura (between Pāvā and Vaiśālī), Campā (Champanagar or Champapur near Bhagalpur), Coragasaṁniveśa (Choreya in Bengal), Daḍhabhūmi (Dalbhum in Singhbhum District), Jambusaṁḍa (near Pāvapurī), Kajaṅgala (Kankjor in Santhal Parganas), Kauśāmbī (Kosam near Allahabad),

[1] *Jaina Sūtras, Sūtrakṛtāṅga Sūtra*, part II, trans. Hermann Jacobi, The Sacred Books of the East, XLV, Oxford, 1895, p. 315; *Ṭīkā*, pp. 208 ff.

Rāḍhā (west West Bengal), Lohaggalā (Lohardaga in Ranchi District), Madhyama-Pāvā (Pāvāpurī), Malaya (Nirgaya, Bihar), Mithilā (Janakpur, Nepalese Tarai), Nālandā (Nālandā District), Purimatāla (Purulia, Bihar, variantly Prayāga, i.e. Allahabad in Uttar Pradesh), Rājagṛha (Rajgir in Nālandā District), Śrāvastī (Saheth-Maheth, in Gonda-Bahraich Districts), Seyaviyā (near Saheth-Maheth), Siddhārthapura (Siddhanagar in Birbhum District), Subbhabhūmi (Suhma, i.e. south-west Bengal), Suṁsumārapura (near Chunar, Mirzapur District), Tosali (Dhauli, Puri District), Vārāṇasī and Vaiśālī (Basarh). According to some traditions Mahāvīra visited even more distant places.

Besides these, the identification of which is possible, there are some other places associated with Mahāvīra; but these cannot be located. It is clear, however, that Mahāvīra tried to spread Jainism in parts of Bihar, western Districts of West Bengal and eastern parts of Uttar Pradesh. It appears, therefore, that the fields of influence of both Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra were more or less the same. It is possible that in the period intervening between Pārśva and Mahāvīra, there was some sort of religious chaos, and therefore Mahāvīra had to devote his entire missionary career in re-organizing Jainism in the region where it had once been spread by Pārśvanātha.

The number of the followers of Mahāvīra appears to have been considerable: fourteen thousand monks, thirty-six thousand nuns and nearly half-a-million lay-followers. Several kings and queens, princes and princesses became his devotees, but the historicity of all of them cannot be proved. In this connexion, some scholars go to the extent of saying that almost all the sixteen Mahā-janapadas of the period came under the influence of Mahāvīra, whereas Ghatge remarks: 'Later Jain tradition, without much historical support, however, brings nearly all the kings of north India in those days in relation to Mahāvīra by describing their queens as daughters of Ceṭaka, the maternal uncle of Mahāvīra.'[1]

Mahāvīra seems to have had adversaries as well. A formidable adversary was Gosāla Maṅkhaliputta who founded the sect of Ājīvikas. He flourished at Śrāvastī, though the precise field of his influence cannot be determined. It is well-known that the Ājīvikas survived down to Aśokan and post-Aśokan periods.

Mahāvīra had eleven chief disciples or *gaṇadharas*, who seem to have kept the organization of the church under proper discipline. All of them were

[1] A.M. Ghatge in *The Age of Imperial Unity*, ed. R. C. Majumdar and A.D. Pusalker, Bombay, 1960, p. 415. According to a variant tradition Ceṭaka was the maternal grandfather of Mahāvīra.

Brāhmaṇas and seem to have come from small settlements in Bihar; only two hailed from cities, viz., Rājagṛha and Mithilā. This again confirms that the spread of Jainism during Mahāvīra's times was restricted to parts of Uttar Pradesh, Bihar and West Bengal.

The organizational tact of Mahāvīra and the devotion of the *gaṇadharas* kept the Jaina church in good shape. However, two schisms, viz., Bahuraya and Jīvapaesiya, took place even during the lifetime of Mahāvīra, but they do not seem to have evoked much response. It is only the last schism, i.e., the Digambara-Śvetāmbara, that has left its impress on the pattern of development of Jainism, its regional spread, monastic practices and iconography.[1]

THE FIRST MILLENNIUM AFTER MAHĀVĪRA

An account of the Digambara-Śvetāmbara rift would involve south India with the spread of Jainism some time in the fourth century B.C. But before this is brought in, we may take stock of the spread of Jainism in north India in the post-Mahāvīra and pre-Maurya times.

Some predecessors of the Nandas of the fourth century B.C. seem to have had some relation with Mahāvīra. According to tradition, king Seṇiya Bambhasāra (Bimbisāra) and his son Kūṇiya or Ajātasattū (Ajātaśatru) were devotees of Mahāvīra. The régime of the latter king witnessed the *nirvāṇa* of Gautama Buddha and Mahāvīra, though this would be difficult to explain if Mahāvīra died in 527 and Buddha in 487 or 483 B.C. The denunciation of this king in Buddhist texts might show that he had a leaning towards Jainism. Perhaps so had his successor Udāyī, who is said to have built a Jaina temple at Pāṭaliputra and to whose palace Jaina monks had free access. While there is no archaeological corroboration of the existence of the Pāṭaliputra temple, it is possible that the famous capital became a Jaina centre at the time of this king.

The succeeding Nandas also seem to have patronized Jainism to some extent. According to a tradition Sagaḍāla, a minister at the court of the ninth Nanda, was the father of Sthūlabhadra, the famous Jaina *ācārya*. In the fictional drama *Mudrā-rākṣasa* we find Jaina monks enjoying the trust of the Nanda king, and it was possibly because of this that Cāṇakya utilized the services of a monk for the overthrow of the Nandas.

More trustworthy than the literary data, however, is the epigraphical evidence in the form of the inscription of Khāravela, king of the Ceti dynasty

[1] For details, see S.B. Deo, *History of Jaina Monachism*, Poona, 1956, pp. 80 ff.

ruling in Kaliṅga in the first (according to some, second) century B.C. This record says that the king, in his twelfth regnal year, brought back to Kaliṅga the Kaliṅga-Jina that had been taken away by the Nanda-rāja to Magadha. This means that Jainism had spread to the Kaliṅga region by the time of the Nandas. The *Vyavahāra-Bhāṣya* also refers to king Tosalika who was very keen on guarding a Jina image in the city of Tosali.

Some of the Mauryas, who succeeded the Nandas, seem to have patronized Jainism; for instance, there has been a consistent Jaina tradition that Candragupta had strong leaning towards Jainism. Tradition holds that Bhadrabāhu, a well-known Jaina pontiff, predicted a famine of twelve long years in Magadha during the reign of Candragupta and migrated to south India along with his devoted disciple Candragupta himself. Tradition further holds that Candragupta died by practising a fast unto death (*sallekhanā*.) It may, however, be stated that the epigraphical material that relates this incident belongs to a period as late as *circa* A.D. 650.[1] In support of Jaina monks being present at the time of Candragupta, scholars point out the mention of Sarmanes (*Śramaṇa*) by Megasthenes, the Greek envoy to Candragupta's court. And if we accept the tradition embodied in the epigraphs in spite of their late date, it would mean that Jainism had spread to south India even in the fourth century B.C.

The Jaina sources are silent about Bindusāra, the successor of Candragupta. That Aśoka, who succeeded Bindusāra, was more favourable to Buddhism is a well-known fact, and this is in consonance with the complete silence of the Jaina sources on Aśoka. Some scholars try to see too much in some of Aśoka's dicta like the practice of *ahiṁsā* and his proclamation that all sects must be honoured on all occasions. These may simply show Aśoka's ethical broadmindedness and his spirit of toleration, for he issued instructions that Brāhmaṇas, Śramaṇas, Nirgranthas and Ājīvikas should be given proper honour and care.

The Jaina texts are, however, eloquent about Kuṇāla, the son of Aśoka, who was a governor of the province of Ujjain. In later years Kuṇāla seems to to have pleased his father and asked him to hand over the kingdom to him. It is stated that Aśoka made Kuṇāla's son Samprati the viceroy of Ujjian in central India, and Samprati later on conquered the whole of Dakṣiṇāpatha. However, after the death of Aśoka, Samprati seems to have been in charge of Ujjain and Daśaratha in charge of Pāṭaliputra.

[1] *Epigraphia Carnatica*, II, revised ed., 1923, inscription 31, pp. 6 and 7.

Samprati contributed greatly to the spread of Jainism. According to literary tradition, he was the disciple of Ārya Suhastin and gave clothes and food to Jaina monks. If true, this would mean that Jainism had spread to Madhya Pradesh by the end of the third century B.C. Samprati is also credited with the celebration of festivals and worship of Jina images within the Ujjain region. According to the *Bṛhat-Kalpa-sūtra-Bhāṣya*,[1] he made the regions of Aṁda (Āndhra), Damila (Draviḍa), Maharaṭṭa (Mahārāṣṭra) and Kuḍukka (Coorg) safe for Jaina monks.

That Jainism had some hold over the people in the Mauryan period is further corroborated by the find of the torso of a Jina figure at Lohanipur near Patna. Though Samprati is credited with the building of numerous Jina temples, no relics are available to corroborate this.

Reference has already been made to Khāravela of the Ceti dynasty of Kaliṅga of the first century B.C. (above p. 24), who brought back to his capital the Kaliṅga-Jina that had been taken away by the Nandas to Magadha. In his inscription at Hāthī-gumphā cave in the hills near Bhubaneswar in Orissa he provides interesting data, *inter alia*, on Jainism. The inscription opens with salutations to the Arhats and the Siddhas and further states that the king caused to be compiled the sevenfold *aṅgas* of the sixty-four letters which had been lost in the period of the Mauryas. This indicates the active affiliation of the king towards Jainism.

It has been stated (above, p. 24) that of all the schisms in the Jaina church the Digambara-Śvetāmbara was the most serious one, as it permanently divided the Jaina church into two. The details of the stories as given by the Digambaras and Śvetāmbaras about the origin of the schism have not much relevance here. It would suffice to say that according to the Digambaras a twelve-year long famine at the time of Candragupta compelled a section of the Jaina monastic community to migrate to the south under the leadership of the monk Bhadrabāhu, while those who remained in Magadha were allowed the concession of wearing a piece of cloth. These Ardha-phālakas were the fore-runners of Śvetāmbaras. As against this, the Śvetāmbaras relate the story of Śivabhūti, who accepted nudity out of anger. Instead of, therefore, accepting these sectarian accounts, it would be safer to visualize the existence of a conservative or puritan group which insisted on nudity and a physically older and weaker group which did not subscribe to the nudity of the first group. In course of time the puritanic (Jiṇakappiya) and the weaker (Therakappiya) sections might have crystallized into the Digambara and the Śvetāmbara sects

[1] *Bṛhat-Kalpa-sūtra-Bhāṣya*, III, 3275-89.

respectively. In any case, it appears plausible that the differences between these two groups were of slow growth and did not fossilize till about the end of the second century A.D.

The western parts of India beyond Ujjain seem to have come under the influence of Jainism in the second century B.C. According to literary tradition, Śāliśuka, the brother of Samprati Maurya, contributed to the spread of Jainism in Saurāṣṭra,[1] the traditional association of Gujarat-Kathiawar with Jainism going back to the period of the twenty-second Tīrthaṅkara Neminātha, who renounced the world in Kathiawar.[2] Thus, by about the second century B.C. Kaliṅga, Avanti and Saurāṣṭra seem to have felt the force of Jainism.

Later Jaina literature abounds in stories pertaining to king Sālāhaṇa or Sālivāhana, a Sātavāhana king ruling from Pratiṣṭhāna, modern Paithan in the upper Deccan. Kālakācārya, legendarily associated also with the Śaka ruler of western India, is said to have visited Sālivāhana as well. Recently, Sankalia has brought to our notice a rock-cut inscription of about the second century B.C., which, according to him, begins with a Jaina formula.[3] The evidence of extensive Jaina contacts with the Sātavāhanas is, however, meagre

Further south, with the foundation of the Gaṅga kingdom in about the second century A.D. under Siṁhanandin, Jainism practically attained the status of a state religion. Kings like Koṅguṇivarman, Avinīta and Śivamāra, as also subsequent princes, were devout Jainas, who made grants to Jaina temples, monasteries and other establishments.[4]

Like the Gaṅgas, the Kadambas (from the fourth century A.D.) were also patrons of Jainism. Inscriptions of the times Kākutsthavarman, Mṛgeśavarman, Ravivarman and Devavarman bespeak the popularity of Jainism in the Kadamba kingdom.[5] These records refer to the Śvetapaṭas, Nirgranthas and Kūrcakas (naked asceties), who appear to have formed different monastic groups. The records also mention certain practices as the worship of icons with ghee.

[1] K.H. Dhruva in *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, XVI, 1930, pp. 29-31.

[2] H.D. Sankalia in *Indian Historical Quarterly*, XVI, 1940, p. 314.

[3] H.D. Sankalia in *Svādhyāya* (Gujarati journal), Baroda, VII, 4, pp. 419 ff.

[4] K. Aiyangar and S. Rao, *Studies in South Indian Jainism*, Madras, 1922, pp. 110-11 For details, see M.V. Krishna Rao, *The Gaṅgas of Talkad*, Madras, 1936, pp. 204-05.

[5] For details, see George M. Moraes, *The Kadamba Kula*, Bombay, 1931, pp. 254-55.

In the extreme south there is some evidence to suggest that some Cera kings patronized Jaina pontiffs.[1] Guerinot refers to a few inscriptions of the Coḷa period which mention the grant of lands to Jaina establishments.[2]

To turn back to central and northern India. According to tradition, round about the first century B.C., there arose the famous Vikramāditya of Ujjain who was converted to Jainism by Siddhasenadivākara, a famous Jaina pontiff.[3] The story of the famous Kālakācārya tells us how that pontiff was responsible in inducting the Scythian king in western and central India. Thus, it appears that central India and the Deccan, the latter which had possibly the first impact of Jainism under Candragupta Maurya, continued to patronize Jainism to some extent. This is corroborated by the recent find of a Jaina cave-inscription of the second century B.C. in Pune District.[4]

Mathurā in north India was another great centre of Jainism. The remains of the Jaina *stūpa* along with inscriptions—some of them going back to the second century B.C.—speak of the flourishing condition of Jainism in the Mathurā region. The excavations at Kaṅkālī-ṭīlā at Mathurā have brought to light the remains of a brick *stūpa*, images of Tīrthaṅkaras, fragments of sculptures depicting incidents from the lives of the Tīrthaṅkaras, *āyāga-paṭas*, *toraṇas* and railing-pillars with sculptures mostly belonging to the period of the Kushans. The *Vyavahāra-Bhāṣya* (5, 27) refers to a jewelled *stūpa* at Mathurā and further tells us that the people of Mathurā were followers of Jainism and worshipped Jina images in their houses.

The evidence from Mathurā is of utmost importance in the history of the development of Jainism. The numerous inscriptions bespeak the fact that Jainism had a large following among the trading and lower classes of the society, as the donations came from such classes as treasurers, perfumers, workers in metal, members of *goṣṭhīs*, village-headmen, wives of caravan-leaders, merchants, wives of dancers, goldsmiths, and also courtezans.[5] The inscriptions also refer to various *gaṇas, kulas, śākhās* and *saṁbhogas,* which indicate a well-knit organization of the church. The find of several images of Tīrthaṅkaras also proves that idol-worship had been completely stabilized by this time.

The prevalence of Jaina faith in Saurāṣṭra in the early centuries of the Christian era can be deduced, according, to some scholars, from the occurrence

[1] *Jaina Antiquary*, XII, 2, 1946-47, p. 74.
[2] A. Guerinot, *Repertoire d'Epigraphie Jaina*, Paris, 1908, nos. 167, 171 and 478.
[3] Johannes Klatt in *Indian Antiquary*, XI, 1882, pp. 247 and 251.
[4] Information kindly supplied by Professor H.D. Sankalia.
[5] Deo, *op. cit.*, p. 101.

of religious-symbols in the Bāwā-Pyārā's Maṭh near Junagadh.[1] However, the evidence is not altogether convincing. The Junagadh inscription of the grandson of the Kṣatrapa ruler Jayadāman refers to *kevela-jñāna*,[2] which is indeed a Jaina technical term. This indicates the existence of Jainism in Kathiawar at least from the early centuries of the Christian era. Sankalia refers to the find of Tīrthaṅkara images in Gondal (now Rajkot District) which he assigns to *circa* A.D. 300.[3] That Jainism had a firm hold over the Gujarat region in the next centuries is clear from the fact that two Councils were held at Valabhī, the first reportedly in fourth and the second in the fifth century; but there is no unanimity on the date of these councils.

Thus it appears that by the beginning of the Christian era and the initial centuries of it, the field of activity of Jainism had shifted from the eastern sector to the central and western parts of India.

In north India, after the fall of the Kushans, the Guptas helped the revival and consolidation of Brāhmaṇism. In spite of this, however, it would be incorrect to hold that Jainism got a set back during this period. Even though the rulers of the dynasty were primarily Vaiṣṇavites, they displayed a remarkable religious toleration. We now know of the installation of Jina images during the reign of the early Gupta ruler Rāmagupta. The Udaigiri cave-inscription of the reign of Kumāragupta refers to the dedication of an image of Pārśva.[4] An inscription from Mathurā speaks of the installation of an image by a female lay-follower at the instance of her Jaina *guru* who belonged to the Koṭṭiyya-*gaṇa*.[5] The reign of Skandagupta, the successor of Kumāragupta, also provides similar data: the Kahaum pillar-inscription (A.D. 460-61) records the dedication of five Jina images by one Madra.[6] To such stray cases may be added the data available in the copper-plate grant from Paharpur in Bangladesh, assignable to the reign of Budhagupta, which records the gift of land for the maintenance of worship in a Jaina *vihāra* by a Brāhmaṇa couple.[7]

[1] James Burgess, *Report on the Antiquities of Kathiawad and Kachh*, Archaeological Survey of Western India, New Imperial Series, London, 1876; H.D. Sankalia, *The Archaeology of Gujarat*, Bombay, 1941, pp. 47-53.

[2] *Epigraphia Indica*, XVI, 1921-22, p. 239.

[3] Sankalia, *op. cit.*, 1941, p. 233.

[4] J.F. Fleet, *Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings*, Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, III, Calcutta, 1888, p. 258.

[5] *Epigraphia Indica*, II, 1894, p. 210.

[6] Fleet, *op. cit.*, pp. 66-67.

[7] *Epigraphia Indica*, XX, 1929-30, p. 59.

In this context, the remarks of Havell are worth quoting. Says he: 'The capital of the Gupta emperors became the centre of Brāhmaṇical culture, but the masses followed the religious traditions of their forefathers, and Buddhist and Jaina monasteries continued to be public schools and universities for the greater part of India.'[1]

SUBSEQUENT HISTORY

In north India, after the fall of the Guptas the picture becomes rather hazy till we come to the period of Harṣavardhana. Though Harṣa had strong Buddhistic affinities, Jainism managed to survive during his régime, though feebly, as is indicated by some donations made by the Jaina laity to Jaina establishments in Bihar.[2] In the post-Harṣa period, Jainism made headway in Rajputana, Gujarat and central India.

A few inscriptions from Deogarh of the times of the Pratīhāras refer to the erection of a pillar in about A.D. 862. Deogarh contains the relics of a group of Jaina temples and a large number of Tīrthaṅkara images.[3] Another record belonging to the reign of Vatsarāja (778-812), found at Osia near Jodhpur, refers to the construction of a Jaina temple.[4] Thus, Jainism continued to be active under the Pratīhāras, though the days of its glory might have been over.

Jainism seems to have regained its lost glory during the régime of the Candellas who ruled over the Bundelkhand region from the ninth century. The majestic Ādinātha and Pārśvanātha and the ruined Ghaṇṭai temples of Khajuraho stand testimony to the large following Jainism had in this region. Jaina dedicatory inscriptions of the reigns of Dhaṅgarāja, Madanavarman and Paramarddin are also available. Monumental and sculptural remains and inscriptions prove that Mahoba, Khajuraho and other places were great centres of Jainism between the ninth and twelfth centuries.

Under the Haihayas (ninth to thirteenth centuries), the Paramāras (*circa* tenth to thirteenth centuries), the Kacchapaghātas (*circa* 950-1125) and the Gāhaḍavālas (*circa* 1075-1200), Jainism asserted its influence over parts of

[1] Quoted by Deo, *op. cit.*, p. 104.

[2] H.V. Glasenapp, *Der Jainismus* (Gujarati translation), p. 46.

[3] Alexander Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, X, Calcutta, 1880, pp. 100-01.

[4] *Progress Report, Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, 1906-07*, p. 15; *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report, 1908-09*, Calcutta, 1912, p. 108.

Malwa, Gujarat, Rajasthan and Uttar Pradesh, as is attested by numerous images, inscriptions and ruined temples spread over these regions. In the tenth and eleventh centuries some Paramāra rulers of Malwa, such as Sindhurāja, Muñja, Bhoja and Jayasiṁha, patronized a number of eminent Jaina scholars and authors. Other Jaina scholars of renown like Āśādhara flourished under Arjunavarman of the same dynasty. Some Jainas occupied high posts at the Paramāra court.

In medieval Gujarat Jainism received further boom during the period of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas (808-88) and particularly the Caulukyas (940-1299). Some copper-plate records of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa period mention the existence of certain groups in the Jaina church. For instance, a copper-plate grant of 821, belonging to the period of Karkarāja Suvarṇavarṣa, mentions the existence of the Jaina monastic community of the Sena and the Mūlasaṅghas along with a Jaina temple and a monastery at Nāgasārikā, identified with modern Navsari.[1]

Under the Caulukyas Śvetāmbara Jainism got a firm foothold in Gujarat, the most noteworthy patron being Bhīmadeva. In spite of his Śaivite leanings, he allowed his minister Vimala to build the famous Vimalavasahī temple on Mount Abu. King Jayasiṁha is believed to have been a great friend of the renowned Jaina author Hemacandra. It is stated by him that the king erected a temple to Mahāvīra at Siddhapura. Debates also were held between the Śvetāmbaras and Digambaras.

Kumārapāla, the successor of Jayasiṁha, built temples at Palitana, Girnar and Taranga and prohibited slaughter of animals on certain days. It may not be an exaggeration to say that the people of Gujarat have remained predominantly vegetarian down to this day due to the efforts of Kumārapāla.

After Kumārapāla, however, there was a strong reaction, and his successor is said to have destroyed some Jaina temples. But even with the loss of royal patronage Jainism seems to have received massive support from Jaina ministers, merchants and the masses. The temples at Abu, Girnar and Śatruñjaya hills were the creation of the ministers of the Vāghelas. Numerous inscriptions stand testimony to the magnitude of popular support which Jainism received in this age.

The prevalence of Jainism under the medieval dynasties of Rajasthan is evidenced by the donatory inscriptions by the Jainas of the period. The fillip that Jainism received in west India in the medieval period has left a permanent

[1] *Epigraphia Indica*, XXI, 1931-32, pp. 136-144.

effect, as Gujarat and Rajasthan still have a sizable percentage of Jaina population.

From the meagre and vague evidence of Jaina contacts with the Deccan in the preceding centuries, the picture changes with the Cāḷukyas of Badami (535-757). A number of epigraphs evidence the existence of Jainism in a flourishing condition in the seventh century. The copper-plate grants from Kolhapur and inscriptions from Aihole (Bijapur District), Lakshmeshwar and Adur (Dharwar District) refer to the building of Jina temples and the grant of land for their maintenance.[1] Besides, the caves at Badami, Aihole and Dharasinva with Jaina images and symbols attest to the flourishing condition of Jainism in the Deccan during the period.

Under the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Mānyakheṭa (733-975), Jainism seems to have enlisted royal support as well. Some of the kings of this dynasty had strong leanings towards Jainism.[2] It is stated that Jinasena was the preceptor of Amoghavarṣa (814-78). His successors Kṛṣṇa II (878-914) and Indra III (914-22), as also Indra IV (973-82), patronized Jainism and gave grants to Jaina temples. It appears that even the feudatories of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, like the Raṭṭas of Saundatti, were patrons of Jainism. The Jaina rock-cut caves at Ellora, which may be assigned to the period of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, provide evidence of the flourishing condition of Jainism in the Deccan.

Jainism seems to have received a further impetus during the régimes of the Cāḷukyas of Kalyāṇī (973-1200), the Yādavas of Devagiri (1187-1318) and the Śilāhāras (810-1260). This is attested by a number of Jaina records found in the southern districts of Maharashtra and parts of Karnataka. More than a score of inscriptions of the Kalyāṇī Cāḷukyas are available; they are mostly from Belgaum, Dharwar and Bijapur Districts and range between the tenth and twelfth centuries. Apart from supplying proof of the existence of Jainism in this region, they provide some interesting details. For instance, they prove that Digambara Jainism was in ascendency in this region, that not only the royalty but even the common people were liberal towards Jainism and that the sumptuous grants of land to different establishments prepared the ground for the creation of the institution of *maṭha-patis*.

However, Jainism fell into bad days during the régime of the Kalacuris (eleventh to early thirteenth centuries), especially of Bijjala (1156-68). Nevertheless, a few inscriptions show that it survived the Śaivite onslaught and continued

[1] Deo, *op. cit.*, pp. 116-17.

[2] A.S. Altekar, *The Rāshṭrakūṭas and their Times*, Poona, 1934, pp. 272-74.

to hold its own under the Yādavas (1187-1318). Similar was the case under the Śilāhāras,[1] as some of the inscriptions from Kolhapur indicate.

That Jainism was in practice within the Eastern Cāḷukya kingdom (624-1271) is evidenced by a few grants mentioning donations to Jaina ascetics. Venkataramanayya observes: 'The Jaina monks were very active. The deserted images met with in the ruined village sites all over the country show that the Jaina settlements were numerous... Several inscriptions of the Eastern Cāḷukya monarchs and their subjects record the construction of Basadis and temples, and register the gift of land and money for their maintenance.'[2]

Similar was the case with the Hoysaḷas (1106-1343). The very origin of this dynasty is attributed to a Jaina sage. It is stated that one Gopanandin 'caused the Jaina religion, which had for a long time been at a standstill, to attain the prosperity and fame of the time of the Gaṅga kings.'[3] It is held that some of the kings of this dynasty like Vīra Ballāla I (1101-06) and Narasiṁha III (1263-91) had strong Jaina affinities.

In the south, in spite of the rise of Brāhmaṇical leaders such as Kumārila, Śaṅkarācārya and Māṇikka Vācakār, the Jainas had their strongholds at Kāñcī and Madurā. With varying fortunes, the south as also the Deccan all along remained strongholds of Digambara Jainism. But there is no doubt that round about the eighth century Jainism lost grip, as it had to face tough opposition from Śaivism. There was persecution of the Jainas by Pallava (fourth to tenth century) and Pāṇḍya (*circa* third century to 920) rulers under the influence of the Śaiva saints Appara and Sambandara. At a much later date, under the Vijayanagara and the Nāyaka rulers the Jainas had to come to terms with the Śaivas and the Vaiṣṇavas. For instance, an epigraph of the reign of Veṅkaṭādri Nāyaka of Belur refers to the erasing of a Śivaliṅga by a Jaina at Halebid in 1633. A compromise was reached after the flare-up, which resulted in the precedence of the Śaiva form of worship over the Jaina form.[4]

With the advent of the Muslims, practically all Indian religions suffered a set-back and Jainism was no exception. There are, however, some instances of individual Jaina pontiffs influencing some Muslim rulers, but such cases are

[1] Deo, *op. cit.*, pp. 121-22.

[2] N. Venkataramanayya, *The Eastern Cāḷukyas of Veṅgī*, Madras, 1950, pp. 288-89.

[3] *Epigraphia Carnatica*, II, 1923, inscription 69, pp. 31 and 34. The origin of the dynasty is sometimes ascribed to Sudatta or Sudatta Vardhamāna, B. A. Saletore, *Mediaeval Jainism with Special Reference to the Vijayanagar Empire*, Bombay, pp. 64-68.

[4] *Epigraphia Carnatica*, V, 1902, Belur Taluq, inscription 128, p. 192.

indeed stray. It is stated, for instance, that Muḥammad Ghurī honoured a Digambara monk. It is also stated that no less a distinguished ruler than 'Alau'd-Dīn Khiljī paid respect to some Jaina *ācāryas*. Akbar was influenced by Ācārya Hīravijaya, because of whom he prohibited animal-slaughter near some Jaina *tīrthas* and exempted them from tax. Cases are also available to indicate that Jahāngīr patronized a few Jaina pontiffs, though a Jaina officer had to suffer at his hands.[1]

A possible effect of Muslim rule in India was the rise of a non-idolatrous sect, the Sthānakavāsin, among the Śvetāmbara Jainas of Gujarat in about the fifteenth century, when a similar sect, the Terāpantha, came into being among the Digambaras.

At present the Jainas are more numerous in western India, the Deccan and Karnataka than in other parts of India. Whereas the Digambaras preponderate in south Maharashtra and Karnataka, the Śvetāmbaras and the Sthānakavāsins are more numerous in Gujarat and Punjab respectively. Mostly consisting of traders and merchants, the community, as a whole, is economically well off. Its affluence is reflected in the lavish festivals of worship and temple-building activity which even now persists on a grand scale.

The foregoing account of the spread of Jainism indicates that from its homeland in Bihar Jainism spread not as a continuous process but in waves compelled by several factors. Essentially dependent on the patronage of the royalty and the merchant-class, it has left behind a wonderful legacy of temples, sometimes temple-cities, painted manuscripts and a galaxy of icons, and culturally the outstanding principle and practice of non-violence (*ahiṁsā*).

S.B. DEO

[1] For details see Deo, *op. cit.*, pp. 135-36.

CHAPTER 4

THE GENESIS AND SPIRIT OF JAINA ART

THE AVOWED AIM OF THE JAINA RELIGION IS THE PERFECTION OF MAN, OR the transformation of the individual mundane soul (*ātman*) into the very state of Godhood (*paramātman*). It exhorts and helps to bring out the divinity inherent in a person through the realization of the spiritual Self. The path generally is one of severe discipline, self-control, renunciation and austerity. But art, too, may be said to be, in a way, 'one of the purest means to attain, and become one with, the Divine,' and it would perhaps not be an exaggeration to say that 'nothing more nearly approaches the spirit of true religion than the spirit of true art.' It is probably why the Jainas have always patronized and cultivated the different forms and styles of fine arts. They were no doubt to serve primarily as hand-maids to religion, but they also helped to soften the rigorous austerity of the path. The emotional, devotional and popular aspects of the creed as well necessitated the creation of various works of art and architecture, and in making them really beautiful no pains or money were spared. Nevertheless, the spirit of the Jaina religion is clearly reflected in its art, which, though very varied and luxuriant, is characterized by a marked absence of the erotic, vulgar or common. It is rather sober, sublime and uplifting, inspiring feelings of self-abnegation, peace and equanimity, besides giving aesthetic pleasure. A sort of unworldliness that is attached to it is conducive to the attainment of spiritual contemplation and the upper reaches of self-realization.

Pieces of Jaina art and architecture belonging to different types and ages are scattered all over the country, but the places of Jaina pilgrimage are in particular veritable store-houses. And the ideal of a religious aspirant in Jainism is exactly what the term 'pilgrim' implies, namely, 'one journeying through life as a stranger in the world'. He lives his life in the world and scrupulously performs his duties and discharges his obligations; yet his attitude is that of a stranger, an onlooker or an observer. He does not identify himself with the show, does not let himself be engrossed in worldly relations and objects. He is a pilgrim who journeys through the world, taking the triple path, made up of Right Faith, Right Knowledge and Right Conduct, and pursues his spiritual pilgrimage till he attains the goal, *nirvāṇa*. As

a matter of fact, in Jainism a place of pilgrimage is called a *tīrtha* (literally, a ford), because it helps the aspirant in crossing over the ocean of *saṁsāra* which is full of pain and misery, and in attaining liberation from the otherwise unending round of births and deaths. The primary aim of Jaina pilgrimage is, therefore, spiritual edification. It is probably why the Jainas have generally selected for the sites of their *tīrtha-kṣetras* mountain-tops, secluded dales for jungle-clearings, far from habitations and the hubbub of materialism-ridden worldly life, in the midst of captivating natural scenery and peaceful surroundings, conducive to concentrated meditation and spiritual contemplation. The sacred associations of the place give it an added sanctity and make the atmosphere charged, as it were, with spiritualism, sublime purity and transcendental serenity. The architecture of the monuments (temples, shrines, etc.) there and, above all, the images of the Jina, with countenances lost in the exuberance of peace, detachment and contemplation, make the devout pilgrim feel himself face to face with the 'divine presence'. No wonder if he bursts out in a fit of mystic ecstasy:

> 'In a holy place with a god I walk ...
> On a trail of beauty, with a god I walk.'

Pilgrimage to holy places is a coveted undertaking in a devotee's life. These places, with their artistic monuments, images, etc., are the living reminders of deities, personages, events and happenings held sacred and memorable, and a visit to them is considered meritorious and spiritually purifying, which fact is substantiated by the life led by the pilgrims there. Almost the entire time is spent in different religious activities—continence, abstinence, fasting, worship, meditation, study of scriptures, listening to religious discourses, chanting and recitation of hymns or devotional songs, charity and alms-giving. People, young and old, men and women, from different walks of life and from different parts of the country live together in perfect peace and amity, and full of pious thoughts.

It is a fact that the Jainas have been amongst the foremost in contributing to the cultural heritage of India. They have enriched the country's art-treasure with numerous and diverse specimens of art and architecture, not a few of which are unique and vie with the best in their grandeur and artistic merit.

It is also true that Jaina art has been essentially religious, and as with everything else in life, it would appear that the Jainas have carried their spirit of acute analysis, and even asceticism, into the sphere of art and architecture,

so much so that in conventional Jaina art the ethical object seems to predominate, and one may sometimes find in it a lack of the purely aesthetic element conducive to its own growth. There are minute details, for instance, in texts like the *Mānasāra*, which show that there was a regular system of sculpture and architecture to which the workers in these arts were expected to conform strictly. But the same thing holds true in the case of the Buddhist and the Brāhmaṇical religious art; if there was any difference, it was only one of degree.

Among Jaina sculptures the Jina or Tīrthaṅkara images are no doubt the most numerous, and they afford some ground for the criticism that they are more or less uniform and provide the artist little scope for the display of his talent. But even amongst such images there are many superb pieces. For instance, referring to the world-famous Gommaṭa colossus at Sravanabelgola in Karnataka, Heinrich Zimmer remarks: 'It is human in shape and feature, yet as inhuman as an icicle; and thus expresses perfectly the idea of successful withdrawal from the round of life and death, personal cares, individual destiny, desires, sufferings, and events.' Alluding to another Jina image, he says ; 'The image of the released one seems neither animate nor inanimate, but pervaded by a strange and timeless calm.' Another observer describes a standing Tīrthaṅkara image as 'a veritable embodiment of immovable strength and indestructible power, not unlike the tall and dignified sal tree (*śāla-prāṁśu*).' Others have admired 'the colossal calm', 'the simple dignity', or the *kāyotsarga yoga* posture of complete bodily abandonment, which is 'the likeness of one such, who knows the boundless joy that lies beyond the senses, as is grasped by intuition, and who swerves not from the Truth, is that of a lamp in a windless place that does not flicker.'[1] The Jina images are thus the likenesses of those

[1] Cf. *jitātmanaḥ praśāntasya paramātmā samāhitaḥ*
Jñāna-vijñāna-tṛptātmā kūṭastho vijitendriyaḥ.
samaṁ kāya-śiro-grīvaṁ dhārayann acalaṁ sthiraḥ
saṁprekṣya nāsikāgraṁ svaṁ diśaś cānavalokayan.
yathā dīpo nivātastho neṅgate so'pamā smṛtā
yogino yata-cittasya yuñjato yogam ātmanaḥ.
Bhagavad-Gītā, VI, 7,8,13 and 19
ājānu-lamba-bāhuḥ śrīvatsāṅkaḥ praśānta-mūrtiś ca
dig-vāsās taruṇo rūpavāṁśca kāryo'rhatāṁ devaḥ.
Varāhamihira's *Bṛhat-saṁhitā*, Bangalore, 1947, LVIII, 45.
śānta-prasanna-madhyastha-nāsāgrasthāvikāra-dṛk
saṁpūrṇa-bhāva-rūpānuviddhāṅgaṁ lakṣaṇānvitaṁ.
raudrādi-doṣa-nirmuktaṁ prātihāryaṅka-yakṣa-yuk
nirmāpya vidhinā pīṭhe jina-bimbaṁ niveśayet.
Āśādhara's *Pratiṣṭhā-sāroddhāra*, 63, 64; also *Mānasāra* and other texts.

saviours who, in the words of Zimmer, 'dwelt in a supernal zone at the ceiling of the universe, beyond the reach of prayer there is no possibility of their assistance descending from that high and luminous place to the clouded sphere of human effort.... The Makers of the River-crossing are beyond cosmic event as well as the problems of biography; they are transcendent, cleaned of temporality, omniscient, actionless and absolutely at peace.'[1] It is an ideal to be adored and achieved, and not a deity to be pleased, appeased or propitiated. Naturally this spirit pervades the gamut of Jaina art and architecture.

In the representation of the many lesser deities or godlings of the Jaina pantheon, such as Indra and his spouse, the Yakṣa and Yakṣī attendants of the Tīrthaṅkaras, the goddess Sarasvatī, Nava-graha, Kṣetrapāla or the lay-worshippers, men and women, in the depiction of scenes from the life-stories of the Tīrthaṅkaras and other celebrities of yore, and in the use of various decorative motifs, however, the artist was not restrained by any rigidly prescribed formulae and had greater freedom. He could also give full play to his genius in carving or painting natural objects and secular scenes from contemporary life, which are sometimes marvellous, very informative and full of aesthetic beauty. But here too he had to keep in mind the puritanical character of the creed and avoid eroticism, obscenity or unethical subjects.

As regards architecture, the early Jaina monks being mostly forest recluses and wandering ascetics, natural caves on the sides or top of hills, situated away from human habitation, served as temporary refuges and places of stay for them. Even the early artificial caves were simple and often contained polished stone beds for those who performed *sallekhanā*. From the third-fourth century A.D. the practice of living more or less permanently in out-of-the-way temples or establishments gradually began to gain ground with a large section of Jaina ascetics, and it gave encouragement to the making of rock-hewn cave-temples. As Smith observes: 'The varying practical requirements of the cult, of course, had an effect on the nature of the buildings required for particular purposes.'[2] Still, the Jaina monks could never do away with their austere way of living. It is probably why even in the days of Ajanta and Ellora but few Jaina caves were built and there were only about three dozen such cave-temples built between the fifth and twelfth centuries and these, too, by the Digambara section of the community; the Śvetāmbara monks had already begun to live in or near habitations.

[1] Heinrich Zimmer, *Philosophies of India*, New York, 1951, pp. 181-82.

[2] V.A. Smith, *History of Fine Arts in India and Ceylon*, Oxford, 1930, p. 9.

Temple-architecture is a direct result of icon- or image-worship which appears to have been prevalent among the Jainas since at least from the beginning of historic times. The Buddhist texts speak of the existence of Arhat-*caityas* in the Vajji country and Vaiśālī, which had come down from pre-Buddha and so from pre-Mahāvīra times (cf. *Mahā-parinibbāna-suttanta*). From the fourth century B.C. we begin to get direct evidence of the existence of Jina images, cave-temples and structural shrines or temples.

In their temple-architecture the Jainas, while adopting the styles prevalent in the places and times where and when they built their temples, also introduced certain characteristic features in keeping with their own culture and ideology, which tended to make it almost a distinct Jaina art. In certain localities, they created whole 'cities of temples'.

The Jainas also distinguished themselves by their decorative sculpture, as distinct from individual statuary, and attained a considerable degree of excellence in the perfection of pillared chambers, one of their favourite forms of architecture. Some of these richly-wrought chambers have been declared by reputed art-critics to be the finest specimens of the ancient and early medieval Indian architecture. Many a time the carvings and bas-reliefs are so full of human interest that it looks as if the austere asceticism symbolized in the huge, stoic and nude Jina images was more than counterbalanced by the abundance and variety of these sculptures, which in a sense gave expression to the later and emotional Jainism.

Another peculiar contribution of the Jainas is the free-standing pillar found in front of many a Jaina temple or *basadi*, especially in south India. This pillar, called the *māna-stambha*, is the prototype of such pillars which are said to have stood within the entrances to the *samavasaraṇa* (audience-hall) of the Tīrthaṅkara, the temple itself representing the *samavasaraṇa*.

The *stūpa* was an early form of the structural architecture of the Jainas as evidenced by the excavation of the Kaṅkālī-ṭīlā site at Mathurā, where a large and beautiful Jaina *stūpa*, believed, even about the beginning of the Christian era, to have been built by the 'gods' in the times of the seventh Tīrthaṅkara and renovated in those of the twenty-third Tīrthaṅkara was extant till probably the beginning of medieval times. Building *stūpas*, however, seems to have lost favour with the Jainas by the close of the Gupta period.

Then, as observed by Longhurst, 'Unlike the Hindus, the Jainas almost invariably selected a picturesque site for their temples, valuing rightly the effect

of environment on architecture.'[1] They zealously cultivated other fine arts as well, such as calligraphy, ornamentation, painting, both mural and miniature, music and dancing and did not neglect the theoretical side either, producing valuable texts on art and architecture, music and prosody.

No gainsaying that the ideology and spirit of the Jaina religion and culture are very much reflected, as they ought to be, in Jaina art and architecture.[2]

JYOTI PRASAD JAIN

[1] A.H. Longhurst, *Hampi Ruins*, Madras, 1917, p. 99

[2] Cf. Jyoti Prasad Jain, *The Jaina Sources of the History of Ancient India*, Delhi, 1964, chapter X, *Religion and Culture of the Jains* (in press), chapter VIII; and the different chapters of the present volume.

CHAPTER 5

THE ETHICAL BACKGROUND

IN ASSESSING THE ETHICAL BACKGROUND OF JAINA ART AND ARCHITECTURE, it is necessary to see what art and architectural form the Jainas have created all over the country through the centuries. Their contributions are a part and parcel of the Indian heritage; still, in view of their religio-ethical values, they can be taken up as a unit of study.

Among the representative arts, the Jaina Bhaṇḍāras possess rich collections of manuscripts. In fact, the study of their scripts would help us to mark the evolution of writing in different parts of India. There are miniature paintings in the manuscripts, especially in west India and to a small extent in south India. Then there are paintings in some caves of the south. There are representations of the Meru, Nandīśvara-dvīpa, *samavasaraṇa*, *māna-stambha*, *caitya-vṛkṣa*, *stūpa*, etc. There are caves dug by the Jainas, once intended for the residence of ascetics, but some later on taking the form of cave-temples; temples with images of one or more Jina; statues of the Tīrthaṅkaras, the Siddhas, Ācāryas, Sādhus; and those of Yakṣa, Yakṣī, etc.

In this context it is necessary to understand the Jaina attitude towards arts in general and towards divinity, worship and objects and places of worship in particular. Jainism does not subscribe to the popular idea of God as some supreme being invested with the power of creating the universe and sitting in judgement over the destinies of all the beings. But the Jaina God is the highest spiritual ideal for every one who wants to progress on the path of religion. The spirit in every one of us is in the grip of *karmans* from beginningless times. *Karmans* give their fruits automatically according to their nature, duration, intensity and quantum. There is no escape from them unless one experiences their consequences, good or bad. In all this God has no part to play. If Jainism admits worship of the divinity, it is not for gaining any favours or for escaping calamities, but for evolving and attaining the great qualities which are found in the Supreme Spirit which is the final, spiritual stage of the spirit in every one of us. It is well-put in the *maṅgala* verse of the *Tattvārtha-sūtra:*

mokṣa-mārgasya netāraṁ bhettāraṁ karma-bhūbhṛtām
jñātāraṁ viśva-tattvānāṁ vande tad-guṇa-labdhaye.

The Jainas worship Pañca-Parameṣṭhins, the five-fold Divinity, namely (1) Arhats, i. e., the twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras; (2) Siddha, the Liberated Soul; (3) Ācārya, the preceptor (usually through his symbolic representation called *sthāpanā*; (4) Upādhyāya, the teacher; and (5) Sādhu, a monk who has renounced worldly ties. Specific qualities are attributed to them (cf. *Davvasaṁgahagāhās*, 50-54). There are different *mantras* or syllables to remember and revere them (*ibid.*, 49) The first syllables of the names of these Parameṣṭhins constitute the sacred syllable Oṁ, which has great religious significance. The real worship in the religious sense is confined to the first two, especially the first, under the twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras whose biographies are elaborate in many respects. There are hymns of praise in their honour, which are not intended to ask for anything from them; but the devotee who recites them wants their great qualities to develop in himself. There are rituals, *pūjās* of various kinds, etc., to express devotion to the Tīrthaṅkaras. All these aim at purifying oneself by pious activities and finally at eliminating one's *karmans*, so that the *ātman* becomes *paramātman*.

The Jaina ethic aims at improving oneself by eradicating one's *rāga* and *dveṣa*, attachment and aversion, which, in other forms, are the four passions, anger, vanity, deceit and greed. If these are brought under control, the *ātman* is on the path of becoming *paramātman*, i.e., one evolves oneself to the highest spiritual status. Of the four human objectives, yearning for wealth and pleasures must be subordinated to *dharma*, religious attitude, which takes one to *mokṣa* the highest objective, the liberation from *karmans*. The worship of the Jina involves the adoption of a number of virtues, to the best of one's abilities and honesty, such as non-violence, truthfulness, non-thieving, celibacy and possessionlessness, apart from fasting, etc.

Most of these ethical concepts are reflected in some form or the other in Jaina art and architecture. Jaina art not only reflects the fine taste for beauty to the extent it can elevate that taste but also heightens the spirit in man and makes him more worthy as a member of human society, having respect for the personality of others. Very often Jaina pieces of art are symbolic of great concepts which have a moral and ethical appeal. Of what value is that piece of art which does not convey some ethical lesson and enable men and elevating women to live a nobler life? In fine, Jaina pieces of art aim at elevating our spirit, inspire religious values and present in concrete philosophical concepts

and rules of conduct laid down in Jainism. They satisfy the yearning spirit to identify itself and evolve itself into the higher spirit which is characterized by infinite knowledge, faith, strength and bliss.

There is a large number of miniature paintings in Jaina manuscripts, some on palm-leaf and others on paper. Apart from their value in our cultural heritage as evidence for contemporary costumes, etc., and as stages in the evolution of art of painting in different areas, the themes they depict have a religious appeal and ethical import. They may be sketches of Nandīśvara-dvīpa, Two-and-a-half Islands, Loka-svarūpa, episodes from the lives of Tīrthaṅkaras (for instance, the proposed wedding procession of Neminātha, the dreams seen by the mother of a Tīrthaṅkara, Kamaṭha attacking Pārśvanātha, etc.), *samavasaraṇa*, *āhāra-dāna*, i.e. giving food to a saint, the scripture being read by a teacher, etc. They give an idea of the immensity of the universe in relation to oneself, of the theory of rebirth according to one's *karmans* and of the pious duties of offering food, scriptures, etc., to the *sat-pātra*. What is preached in the text for the ear is put in colours for the eye, so that the pious get a better impress of these lessons on their career.

The caves (with or without decorative painting), some of which later on became cave-temples, and *niṣidhi* squares with inscriptions remind us of the austere living of Jaina monks and also of their voluntary death (*sallekhanā*) recorded on the spot. Such monuments idealize the spirit of non-attachment for the worldly ties. Some of the inscriptions at places like Sravanabelgola glorify the saints, householders and housewives who faced death piously and their spirit of sublime detachment, under the prescribed circumstances and conditions.

Among Indian idols one comes across those from the crudest to the most artistic, from the simple to the gorgeous and from the serene to the ferocious, reflecting the socio-religious spirit and the affluent society behind them. Almost from the beginning, Jainism was linked with idol-worship; it was natural, if not inevitable. The Tīrthaṅkaras who have been spiritual ideals could be easily idolized for rendering concrete their great qualities and for devotion to and worship and cultivation of them. Simple image-worship, in due course of time, became highly complex depending on the means of the worshipper. There are statues of individual Tīrthaṅkaras, of Siddhas and even of Ācāryas, of twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras or five Parameṣṭhins, or Nava-devatās, or Nandīśvara-bimbas or Sarvatobhadra (with four faces, those of Ādinātha, Pārśva and two others in one unit), of Śruta-devatā (as the goddess Sarasvatī,

or as representing Dvādaśāṅga), of Yakṣa and Yakṣī, in addition to those of Kula-devatās which the new followers of Jainism brought along with them. The statue of the Siddha is empty-space image cut in metal; if a statue is made at all, it has no distinguishing mark (*lāñchana*). Then there are other symbolic images of *dharma-cakra, aṣṭa-maṅgala, āyāga-paṭa*. Among the statues of the the Tīrthaṅkaras the most common are those of Ṛṣabha, Candraprabha, Nemi, Pārśva, Śānti and Mahavīra. All these, in later ages, are marked by individual *lāñchanas*. Ṛṣabha has the mark of bull, Neminātha of conch, Mahāvīra of lion, etc. The rituals at the *pratiṣṭhā* festival deserve to be carefully studied: in fact, the statue passes through the conventional career of the Tīrthaṅkara, and the formula *sa eva devo jina-bimba eṣaḥ* is uttered, thus investing the image with all the great qualities of Jina. Then it becomes fit for worship. When one attends the ritual of the *pratiṣṭhā*, one has the experience of covering the life of a Tīrthaṅkara from birth (if not conception) to *kevala-jñāna* (if not *nirvāṇa*); and one has the realization that what one is worshipping is not just stone or metal but the Jina himself with all those supreme qualities. The life of a Tīrthaṅkara has a lesson for the worshipper. It elevates his spirit and automatically he tries to follow the great ideal of getting rid of *karmans*. At the same time it cannot be denied that some of the Jaina statues are pieces of art, and as such they have an additional appeal. The statues of the Jina, whether standing or seated, are in a pose of meditation; and the *mudrā* is of *vīta-rāga* and the expression is of *śānta-rasa*. In fact, a devotee, when piously concentrating himself on such an image, lifts himself, if for a while, into its spirit of *vīta-rāgatā* and *śānta-rasa* which are rare commodities in day-to-day life.

The image of Bāhubalī has two types from the point of view of the set-up of the hair. The one with curly hair is more common; and the pattern is set by that of Gommaṭeśvara at Sravanabelgola. This has been imitated in subsequent days, as it is being imitated even today: the pose is grand (*bhavya*); the face is *vīta-rāga;* and the meditative mood is exemplary. Such an image would evoke admiration for the artist in anybody; the sincere and devout worshipper is impressed by these qualities and would try to cultivate them in his life.

Jaina temples are found in plenty in the south, west and elsewhere. The pattern varies and the artistic details are different; but their influence on any one who goes there with devotion is more or less the same. Some of them, at Sravanabelgola, Halebid, Deogarh, Abu, Ranakpur, etc., are rich pieces of architecture, and their ethical influence on us is one of serenity and detachment.

In the temple of Abu it is the marvellous architectural wealth that eclipses the quiet influence of the image of the Jina inside. The Jaina temple is intended to be a place for quiet meditation on the qualities of Jina and on one's pursuit of the same. This is intended by the construction itself: the *garbha-gṛha, śukanāsikā, mukha-maṇḍapa,* etc., add to the dignity and serenity of the atmosphere.

The *māna-stambha,* found in front of some of the temples in the south, is a fine pillar, rich in artistic details and having a *sarvatobhadra* image in the square done at the top. It is symbolic: it illustrates how small one is by its side and how one's vanity of greatness should melt away when one comes to the temple.

In fine, the ethical background of Jaina art and architecture aims at evolving *ātman,* into *paramātman* and cultivates the spirit of piety, peace, serenity, detachment, charitable disposition, devotion to learning and pious living as well as to austerity and renunciation, in the minds of the devotees.

A. N. UPADHYE

Part II

MONUMENTS & SCULPTURE
300 B.C. TO A.D. 300

CHAPTER 6

MATHURA

EARLY HISTORY

MATHURĀ, THE CAPITAL OF THE ŚŪRASENA MAHĀ-JANAPADA, WAS AN important city in the sixth century B.C. With the rise of the Nandas in the fourth century B.C. the Janapada probably became an integral part of the Magadhan empire and Mathurā lost its position as a capital. However, the city continued to enjoy prosperity. Megasthenes (*circa* 300 B.C.), the Greek ambassador to the court of Candragupta Maurya who overthrew the Nandas, refers to Methora (Mathurā) and Cleisobora (Kṛṣṇapura) as two great cities of the Sourasenoi who were noted particularly for their worship of Kṛṣṇa (Heracles of the Greeks). The prosperity of Mathurā was not merely due for its being the birth-place of Kṛṣṇa and consequently a strong seat of the Bhāgavata religion, but also on account of the influx of wealth through trade due to its situation on a highway connecting it with commercial caravan-routes, one of them going as far as Taxila and even beyond. It became the meeting-ground of various traditions, both indigenous and west-Asian, the latter received through the extreme north-west. The composite culture evolved by this cosmopolitan town is amply reflected in its decorative motifs, architecture and art, remarkable for their assimilative character. Mathurā was one of the few places of Madhyadeśa to receive the impact of the Hellenistic culture quite early. Even in the beginning of the second century B.C., shortly before the rise of Puṣyamitra Śuṅga (*circa* 187-151 B.C.) who supplanted the Mauryas, it faced a Yavana (Indo-Greek) invasion, as may be gathered from the *Yuga-Purāṇa* section of the *Gārgī-Saṁhitā*. In the later part of the first century B.C. it became the headquarters of a Scythian Satrapal dynasty who ousted the local Mitra rulers. The Satrapal dynasty in its turn was overthrown by another foreign stock, the Kushan. Under Kaniṣka and his successors Mathurā held a prized position, reflected not only in a large number of inscriptions of the reigns of these rulers recording dedications of various structures and images, Buddhist, Jaina and Brāhmaṇical, but in the construction of the portrait-gallery of the Kushan rulers. With the decline of the Kushan power, a Nāga dynasty established itself at Mathurā, but it lost its independent status with the rise of the Guptas in the fourth century A.D.

MATHURĀ IN JAINA TRADITION

Mathurā was particularly sacred to the Jainas from early times. It is, however, not definitely known when the faith stepped into this land. Traditions as recorded in the later Jaina texts would assign a hoary antiquity to the Jaina establishment at Mathurā and associate it with a number of Tīrthaṅkaras. Thus, according to Jinaprabha-sūri (fourteenth century), there existed at Mathurā a *stūpa* of gold and jewels, raised by the goddess Kuberā in honour of Supārśvanātha, the seventh Tīrthaṅkara. Long afterwards, following the visit of Pārśvanātha, the twenty-third Tīrthaṅkara, at the instructions of the goddess, the *stūpa* was encased in brickwork, and a stone image of Pārśvanātha was installed by its side. Restoration of this *stūpa* was effected at the instance of Bappabhaṭṭi-sūri thirteen centuries after Mahāvīra had attained *nirvāṇa*.[1] Śrī-Supārśva-*stūpa* of Mathurā is noted as a centre of pilgrimage in the *Vividha-tīrtha-kalpa*.[2] One tradition records Mathurā as the birth-place of Neminātha, the twenty-first Tīrthaṅkara,[3] but according to the *Uttara-purāṇa* his birth-place was Mithilā.[4] Being the first cousin of Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma, Ariṣṭanemi (Neminātha), the twenty-second Tīrthaṅkara who belonged to the Harivaṁśa, had a close association with Mathurā. His father Samudravijaya, a brother of Vasudeva, is said to have been a ruler of Śauryapura.[5] From the *Vividha-tīrtha-kalpa* it is gathered that Neminātha had a specially-honoured place at Mathurā.[6] Several images of the Kushan and post-Kushan periods represent this Tīrthaṅkara in the company of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma. From the *Vivāgasuya*[7] it appears that Mahāvīra visited Mathurā and delivered his discourses there. During this visit he probably halted in the *Bhaṇḍīra-udyāna* (garden) which was sacred to a Yakṣa named Sudarśana.

[1] *Vividha-tīrtha-kalpa* of Jinaprabha-sūri, ed. Jinavijaya, Santiniketan, 1934, pp. 17 ff.; Vincent A. Smith, *The Jaina Stūpa and other Antiquities of Mathurā*, Archaeological Survey of India, New Imperial Series, XX, Allahabad, 1901, p. 13; U.P. Shah, *Studies in Jaina Art*, Banaras, 1955, pp. 9 and 62-63.

[2] *Vividha-tīrtha-kalpa*, p. 85.

[3] B.C. Bhattacharya, *The Jaina Iconography*, Lahore, 1939, p. 80.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 79.

[5] This place has generally been identified with an ancient site, variantly called Surapura, Sauripura, Surajpura and Suryapura, near Bateshwar (District Agra), cf. *Uttar Pradesh District Gazetteers—Agra*, ed. E.B. Joshi, Lucknow, 1965, p. 22. Śauri being one of the epithets of Kṛṣṇa, B.C. Law identifies Śauryapura or Śauripura with Mathurā itself (*Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal, Letters*, XIII, 1947, pp. 21 and 25.). B.C. Bhattacharya is inclined to identify it with Dwaraka, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

[6] *Vividha-tīrtha-kalpa*, p. 85.

[7] P.L. Vaidya, *The Vivāgasuya*, Poona, 1933, p. 45.

EARLY JAINA RELICS

While these late literary traditions are yet to be substantiated by other evidence, it is certain on the basis of the archaeological data that the religion got a firm footing at Mathurā by the second century B.C. The faith continued to flourish in this centre despite the political changes which led first to the establishment of the rule of a Śaka Satrapal family under Rañjuvula and Ṣoḍāsa (Śoṇḍāsa) and ultimately to the suzerainty of the Kushans. Under the latter Mathurā became an exceptionally rich and populous city, a congenial soil for the prosperity of different cults, Brāhmaṇical, Buddhist and Jaina. In fact the Kushan period witnessed a tremendous outburst of creative activity in the *ateliers* of this cosmopolitan city, with the result that this important religious seat became a prolific centre of art and architecture. The wealth of the Vaiśya caste, particularly the opulent mercantile class (*śreṣṭhin, sārthavāha, vāṇija, gandhika* and others), who formed an appreciable percentage of the lay-devotees, contributed to a large extent to the prosperity of the Jaina monuments. This is evident from the dedicatory records of the members of families engaged in trade, commerce and industry. At the same time it may be noted that the almost unceasing demand of the followers of different creeds, not only of Mathurā but of a large part of northern India, on the artists of this period left them hardly any leisure to bestow special attention to their creations and forced them to resort to mechanical mass-production with an adverse effect on artistic merit. The figures were not only conventionalized but were often flat and insipid.

The Mathurā school of art of the period under consideration was essentially Indian in character, inheriting the age-old art-tradition, root and branch, of Madhyadeśa, as typified by the primitive statues of Yakṣas and the early products of Bharhut and Sanchi. However, it was open and expansive enough to introduce freely foreign motifs received through the north-west, partly to satisfy the composite character of the clientele. The principal medium of its expression was the mottled red sandstone quarried from places like Sikri, Rupbas and Tantpur.

The existence of a Jaina shrine (*pāsāda*) as early as the middle of the second century B.C. is proved by an inscription recording the dedication of a *pāsāda-toraṇa* by a *śrāvaka* named Uttaradāsaka.[1] Another inscription, incised on a piece of a carved lintel and belonging to the period immediately before

[1] *Epigraphia Indica*, II, 1893-94, p. 198; H. Lüders, *List of Brāhmī Inscriptions*, 1912, no. 93.

Kaniṣka I, records the gift of a *pāsāda* by Dhāmaghoṣā.[1] To about the same period belongs an *āyāga-paṭa* in the Archaeological Museum, Mathurā (AMM,[2] Q. 2; plate 1), the inscription on which registers the dedications, by the courtezan Vāsu, daughter of Loṇaśobhikā, of a shrine (*devikula*) of the Arhat, a hall (*āyāga-sabhā*), a cistern (*prapā*) and a stone slab (*śilā-paṭa*) in the Nirgrantha-Arhatāyatana (sanctuary of the Arhats).[3] Another inscription (dated 299 of an unknown era), probably of the Kushan period, on the pedestal of a broken image records the installation of an image of Mahāvīra in the temple (*āyatana*) of Arhats and erection of a shrine (*devakula*).[4] The word *vihāra* occurs on a fragmentary *āyāga-paṭa*, now in the Mathurā Museum.[5] The discovery of a large number of images of the Tīrthaṅkaras and an image of the Jaina goddess Sarasvatī proves that there existed a number of shrines at Mathurā in the Kushan period, though the possibility of many of the images having been installed in the open cannot be entirely ruled out.

KAṄKĀLĪ-TĪLA: REPLICAS AND COMPONENTS OF *STŪPAS*

Unfortunately, not a single monument of the period under consideration is now available, though sporadic excavations and probings by Hardinge, Cunningham, Growse and Führer at Kaṅkālī-tīlā, the main Jaina site[6] within the orbit of Mathurā, yielded an overwhelmingly large number of sculptures, *āyāga-paṭas*, pillars, capitals, umbrellas, railing-posts, cross-bars, copings, component parts of gateways, tympana, bracket-figures and other architectural pieces. These dismembered slabs give an idea of the architectural and sculptural splendour of the magnificent monuments raised by the affluent and pious Jaina community which included a good number of female lay-worshippers. Inscriptions on many of the slabs and images furnish not only the names of the rulers but throw a flood of light on the organization of the Jaina *saṅgha* with its teachers and ascetics grouped into varied *gaṇas*, *kulas* and *śākhās*.

[1] *Epigraphia Indica*, II, p. 199; Lüders, *List*, no. 99. Lucknow Museum no. J. 540.

[2] AMM=Archaeological Museum, Mathurā; SML=State Museum, Lucknow.

[3] *Journal of the U.P. Historical Society*, XXIII, 1950, pp. 69 and 70; Lüders, *List*, no. 102.

[4] Lüders, *List*, no. 78. J.E. van Lohuizen-de Leeuw reads the date as 199, *The "Scythian" Period*, Leiden, 1949, p. 58. Her views have been refuted by R.C. Sharma, who, on stylistic consideration of the available feet of the missing image, assigns the piece to the transitional period between the end of the rule of the Kushans and the beginning of the Gupta rule, *Shri Mahavir Jaina Vidyalaya Golden Jubilee Volume*, I, Bombay, 1968, p. 149.

[5] *Journal of the U P. Historical Society*, XXIII, 1950, p. 71.

[6] A few Jaina antiquities were recovered from the site of Sitala-ghati, Rani-ki-mandi and Manoharpur as well.

Though Führer, in the course of his major operations between the years 1888 and 1891 at Kaṅkālī-ṭīlā, succeeded in getting remnants of a brick *stūpa* and two temples and an immense number of antiquities ranging in date from the second century B.C. to the eleventh century A.D., he failed to make a proper documentation of the structures in the form of detailed drawings, description and photographs, his dig being mainly directed to the recovery of antiquities, specially inscriptions, without a record of the context and the buildings to which they had belonged. In the absence of this essential documentation we have naturally to fall back on the representation of the structures on carved stones of the dismembered monuments to have an idea of the monuments raised by the Jainas.[1]

From the available evidence it appears that the Jaina establishment at Kaṅkālī-ṭīlā grew up around a *stūpa* which formed an object of supreme veneration. An inscription,[2] dated 79 (A.D. 157) or 49 (A.D. 127), on the pedestal of a missing image mentions the installation of an image of Arhat Ṇandiāvarta[3] at the so-called Vodva *stūpa* built by the gods (*deva-nirmita*). This shows that by the middle of the second century A.D. this *stūpa* had become so ancient that the facts about its origin were completely forgotten by the people and its construction came to be ascribed to the gods. Presumably this very *stūpa* was referred to by Somadeva when he, in his *Yaśastilaka-campu* (A.D. 959), gave an account of the origin of a *stūpa* which was known as *deva-nirmita* down to his days. According to Somadeva it was erected by Vajrakumāra endowed with supernatural powers of the divine Vidyādharas.[4]

As already noted, Führer unearthed a brick *stūpa*, stated to be 14·33 m. in diameter. From a rough drawing of the plan of this *stūpa* (fig. II),[5] it appears that the *stūpa* was not of solid brickwork. The brickwork within the core simulated a wheel with eight spokes; apart from the rim, there was a circular wall connecting the radiating spokes in the middle to impart strength to the framework. The remaining spaces within this fraemwork were, presumably, filled in with clay.

[1] A systematic excavation at the extensive mound of Kaṅkālī, though greatly disturbed by previous digs, is likely to uncover the plans of some of the structures.

[2] Lüders, *List*, no. 47.

[3] Read as Munisuvrata by K.D. Bajpai, *Śrī-Mahāvīra Commemoration Volume*, I, Agra, pp. 189 and 190.

[4] K.K. Handiqui, *Yaśastilaka and Indian Culture*, Sholapur, 1949, pp. 416 and 433.

[5] Smith. *op. cit.*, pl. III. The drawing, however, presents the diameter as much more than 14·33 m.

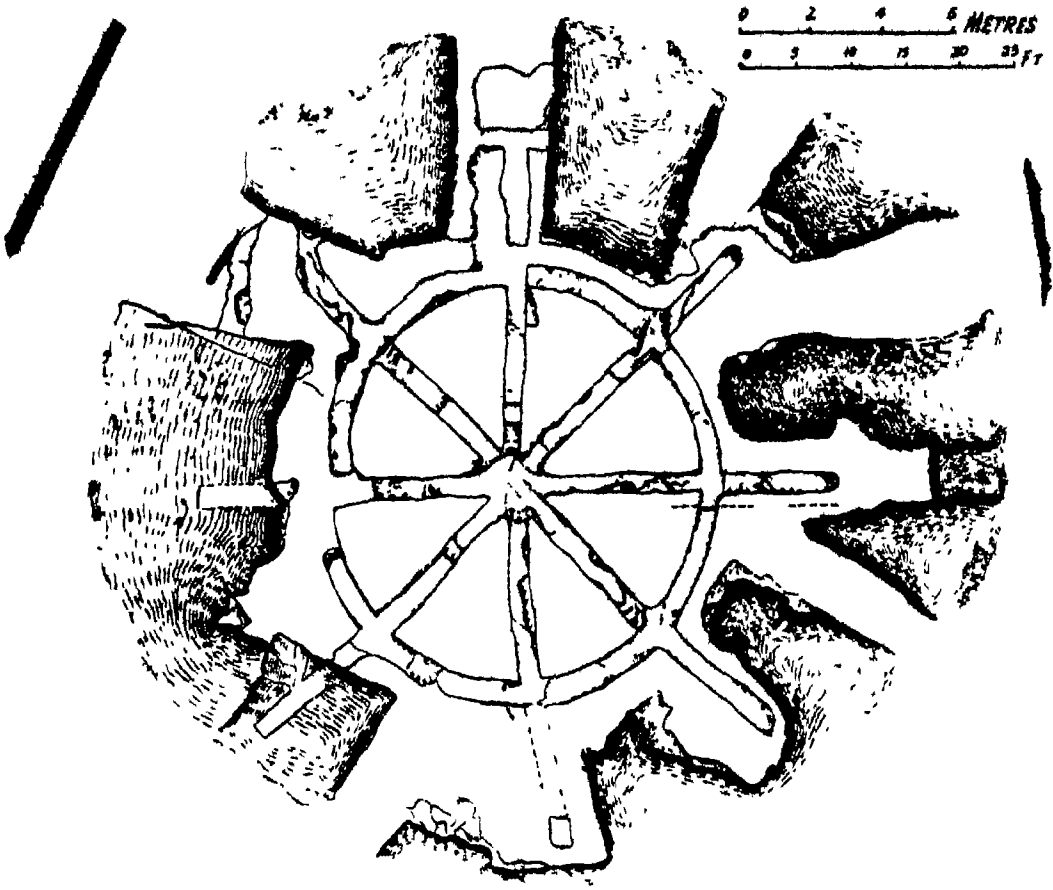



FIG. II. Kaṅkālī-ṭilā: plan of a brick *stūpa*. (After Smith)

For the elevation and outer form of the *stūpa* we have to refer to the representation of the reliefs on architraves of gateways, *āyāga-paṭas*, tympana and others. From the reliefs and also from the dismembered stones of gateways and railings it appears that either there were more than one important *stūpa* at this site[1] or a sole *stūpa* underwent restorations and embellishments at frequent intervals.

Chronologically, the earliest representation of a *stūpa* occurs on the obverse of the bottom architrave in the State Museum, Lucknow (SML, J. 535) of the gateway of a *stūpa* (plate 2A). On stylistic consideration of the figures represented on the architrave, the latter cannot be regarded later than the first century B.C. The *stūpa* with its receding terraced drum is somewhat bell-shaped. The two terraces of the circular drum have around them three-barred railings. The hemispherical dome is crowned by a square three-barred railing, from the

[1] *The Bṛhat-kathā-kośa of Hariṣeṇa* (A.D. 932), ed. A.N. Upadhye, Bombay, 1943, p. 26, gives an account of the foundation of five ancient *stūpas* of Mathurā.

centre of which rises a conspicuous *chatra*. A fourth railing enclosing the processional path is provided at the ground-level. It is not unlikely that this *stūpa* represents the so-called *deva-nirmita stūpa*, which possibly had no lithic gateway to begin with.

Another representation of a *stūpa* occurs on a fragment (SML, J. 535) of a second architrave of this period; this is now in the store-room in the Lucknow Museum. All the four sides of this architrave were deliberately sliced in order to convert it into the corner-post of a railing, with the result that portions of the carved surface have disappeared. The available portion of the relief shows a *stūpa*, of which the lowest portion and the umbrella above the railing on the hemispherical dome are missing. As the lowest portion is not available, one is not sure if the drum had two terraces with railings or not. If not, the lowest railing (the portion immediately below it chipped off) would have served as a ground-balustrade. On the sinister of the *stūpa* are an elephant with two riders, a horse-rider and heads of two bullocks, possibly driving a cart (missing). The carved face bears two-and-a-half sockets. One of the adjoining sides also presents sockets for the tenons of the cross-bars.

A developed form of *stūpa*-architecture is furnished by the well-preserved relief (plate 1) on a *śilā-paṭa* (*āyāga-paṭa*) (AMM, Q. 2), referred to above.[1] The inscription on it, recording various dedications (above, p. 52) of the courtezan Vāsu, is palaeographically referable to the pre-Kaniṣka decades. In contrast to the preceding *stūpa*, its elongated cylindrical drum is conspicuously high enough to give the *stūpa* a somewhat tower-like appearance. It is in two terraces, both having carved railings around. At the crown of the hemispherical dome is a square two-barred railing, from the centre of which rears up an umbrella with floating garlands. An innovation of this *stūpa* is its high platform, presumably square. The terrace over the platform served as a processional path. It is enclosed by a three-barred railing, the latter pierced by a gateway (*toraṇa*). Access to the terrace from the ground is provided by a balustraded staircase of eight steps right in front of the gateway. The façade of the platform is relieved with arched niches simulating *makara-toraṇas* and containing standing figures (male on the dexter and female on the sinister) above pedestals. The lavishly-carved *toraṇa* has an affinity with those of Bharhut and Sanchi. It consists of two oblong carved posts supporting three horizontal curviform architraves with ends simulating *makaras*. Between the architraves are supporting blocks, while the two rolled ends of the bottom architrave are sustained by two lion-shaped brackets. Crowning the top architrave is a honeysuckle motif

[1] *Journal of the U.P. Historical Society*, XXIII, 1950, pp. 69 and 70.

flanked on either side by a *tri-ratna* (or *nandipada*) symbol, as in the eastern gateway of the *stūpa* of Bharhut. From the central portion of the bottom architrave hangs a lotus-drop with pendant garlands. That the relief of the gateway is modelled after the then existing ones is proved by the discovery of the dismembered fragments noticed below (p. 60).

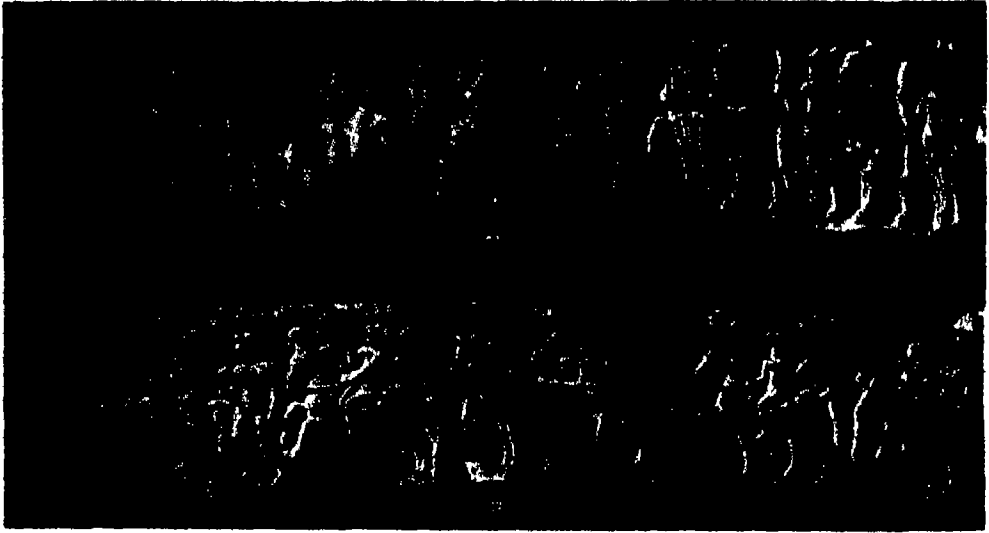
A distinctive feature of this *stūpa* is the existence of two high pillars, one each at the front corners. (Probably there were two more pillars at the remaining two corners of the *stūpa*, of which this relief is a miniature replica.) The *ghata*-base of the pillars rests on a stepped-pyramidal pedestal. Over the shaft, which is circular in the one on the dexter and octagonal in the other, is a carved *ghaṭa*, above which is a pair of recumbent winged lions. Above the animals is a voluted splayed-out member, supporting the crowning capital which is a wheel on the dexter and a sejant lion on the sinister. The pillars are of the height of the *stūpa* above the platform. Several pillars of this type are encountered at Kaṅkālī-ṭīlā.

The fragment of another *āyāga-paṭa* (SML, J. 255) preserves the lower portion of a *stūpa*-relief (plate 2B). The general arrangements and broad features of the available portion of the *stūpa* are similar to those of the preceding one (AMM, Q. 2), but the platform is comparatively low, and consequently there are only four steps leading to the gateway (*toraṇa*) which gives access to the balustraded terrace over the platform. On this terrace there are two pillars as in the preceding relief. Of the *stūpa* proper the lower terrace of the high cylindrical drum alone is preserved. The ends of the curviform architraves of the gateway, which is luxuriantly carved, are in the form of *makaras* with rolled tails. The square blocks (in alignment of the oblong posts of the gateway) between the architraves are relieved with motifs like honeysuckle and *śrīvatsa*. Connecting the central portions of the architraves are two carved balusters, and the spaces between the balusters and blocks are filled in with *jālī*-patterns. The crowning elements of the gateway are similar to those on AMM, Q. 2. There is a lotus-drop with a garland hanging from the central portion of the bottom architrave. The inscription on the slab records the setting up of the *āyāga-paṭa* by Śivayaśā, wife of a *narṭaka* (dancer), for the worship of the Arhats.[1] On palaeographic considerations the inscription has been ascribed to the period immediately before Kaniṣka I.

There are other representations of *stūpas* as well. One of them occurs on a tympanum (plate 12), now in the National Museum, New Delhi. Although

[1] *Epigraphia Indica*, II, p. 200; Lüders, *List*, no. 100.

Mathurā : *āyāga-paṭa* (AMM, Q. 2)

PLATE 1

A. Mathurā : architrave of the gateway of a *stūpa*, A, obverse, and B, reverse (SML, J. 535)

B. Mathurā : fragment of an *āyāga-paṭa* (SML, J. 255)

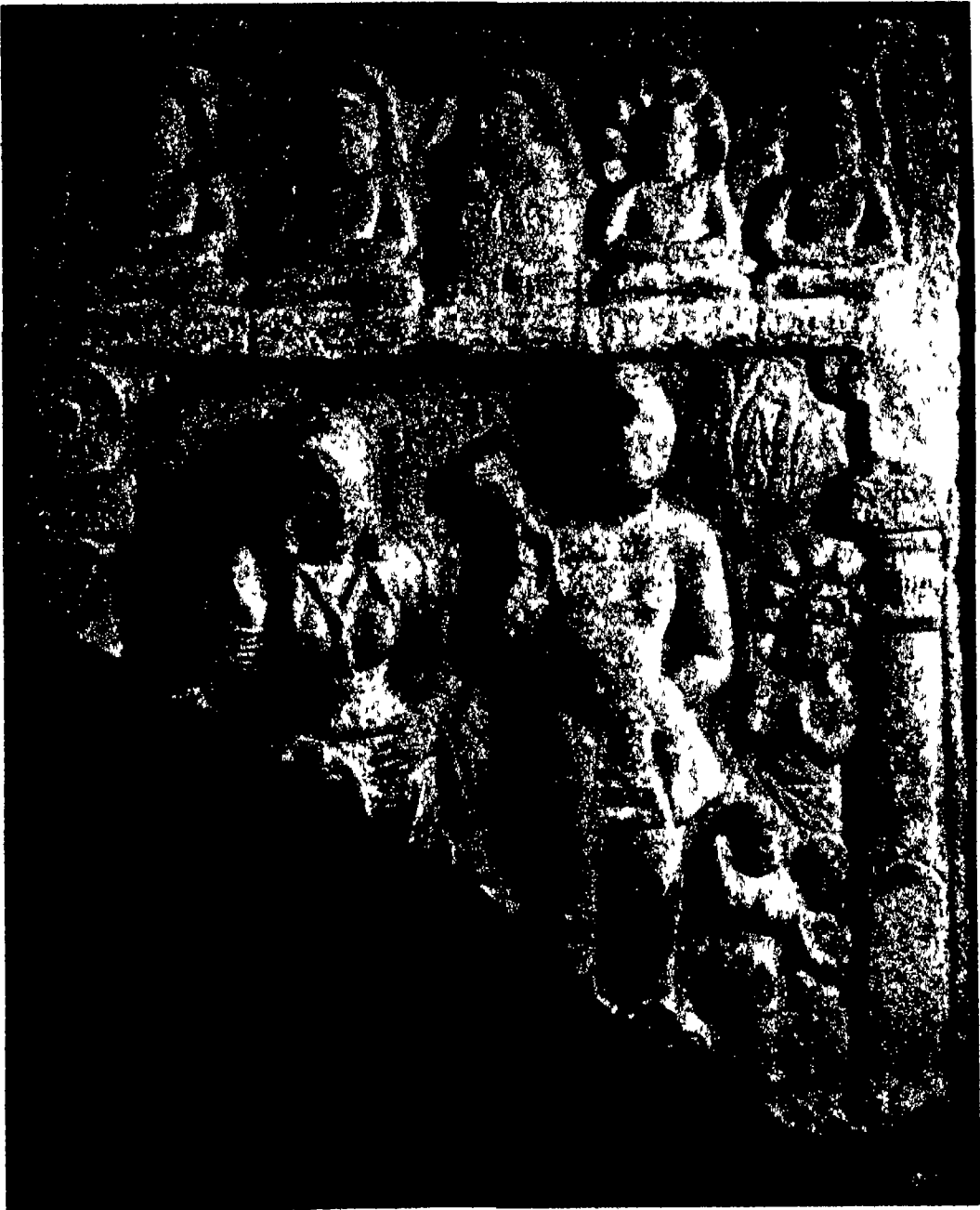
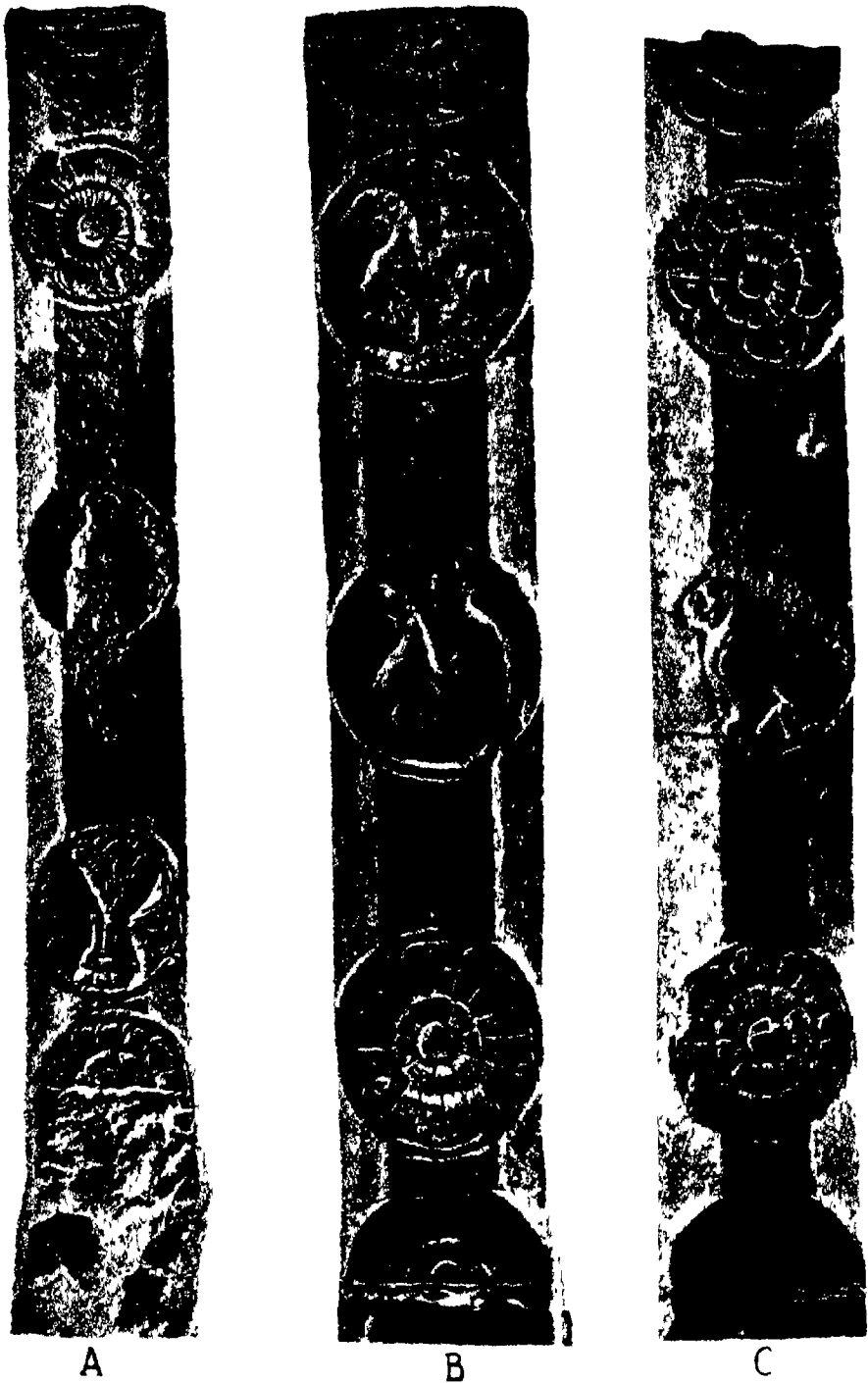



PLATE 2

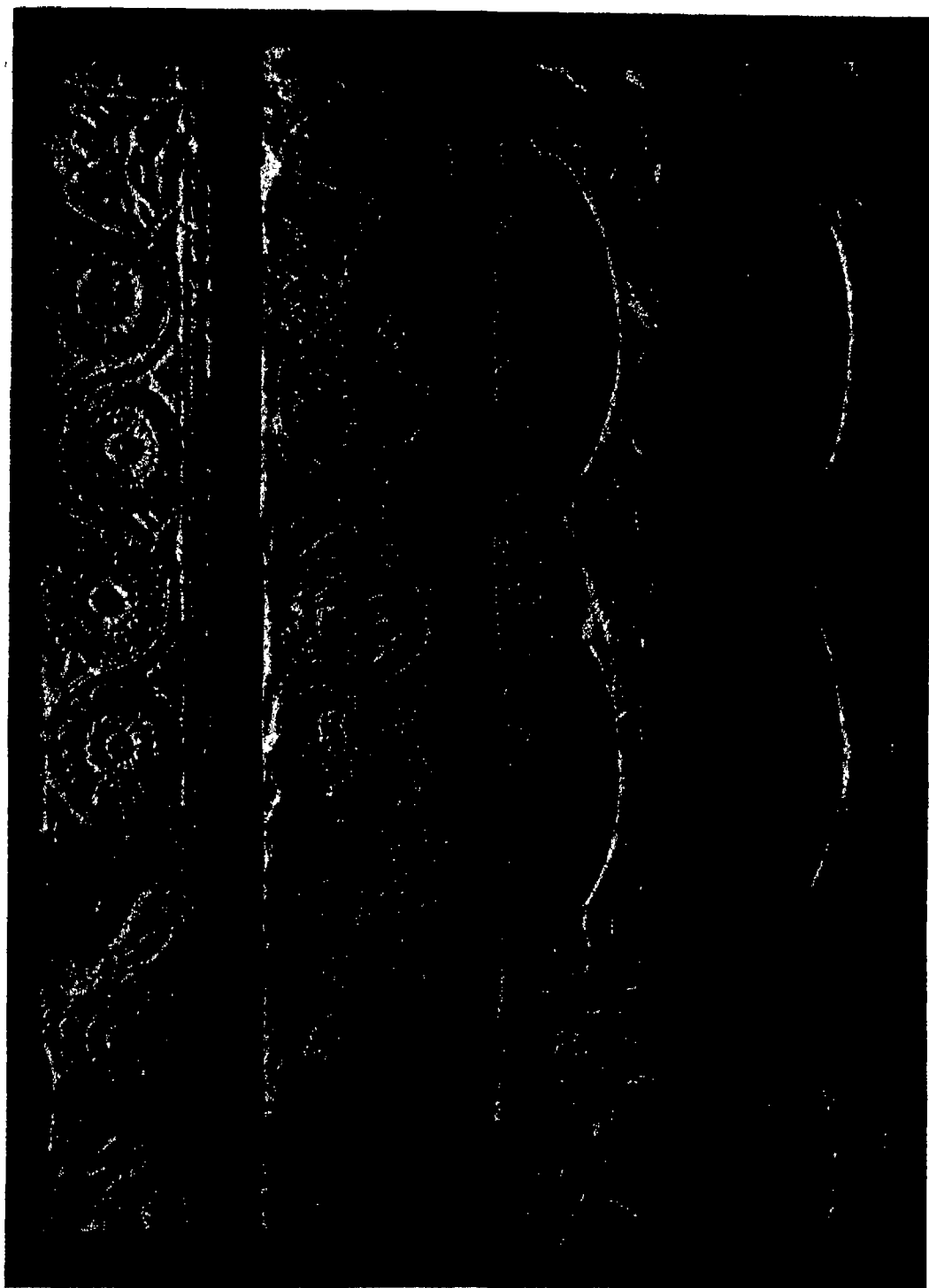
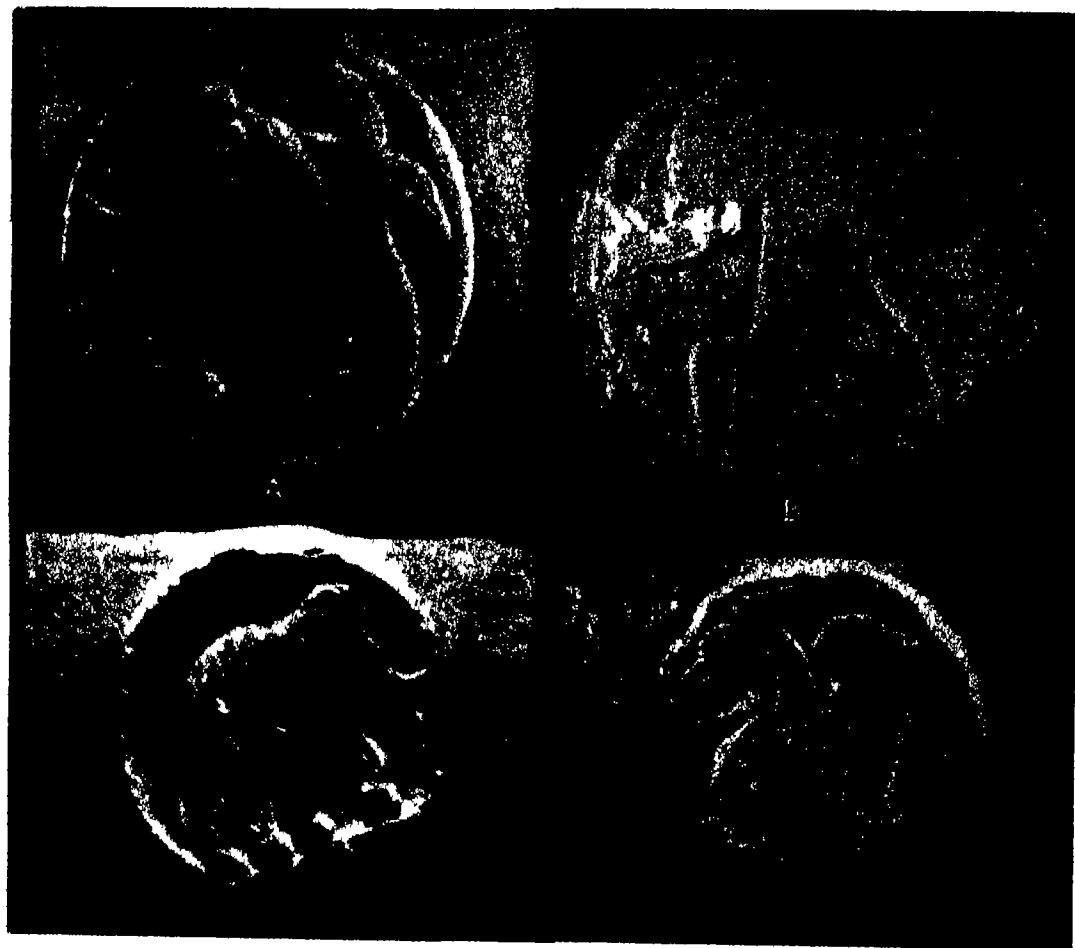
Mathurā : sculptured slab (SML, J. 250)

PLATE 3

Mathurā : railing-posts (A, SML, J. 283; B, SML, J. 288; C, SML, J. 282)

PLATE 4

Mathurā : corner-post of a railing (SML, J. 356), view of four sides

PLATE 5

Mathurā : cross-bars of railings (A, SML, J. 427; B, SML, J. 422; C, J. 403; D, J. 365)

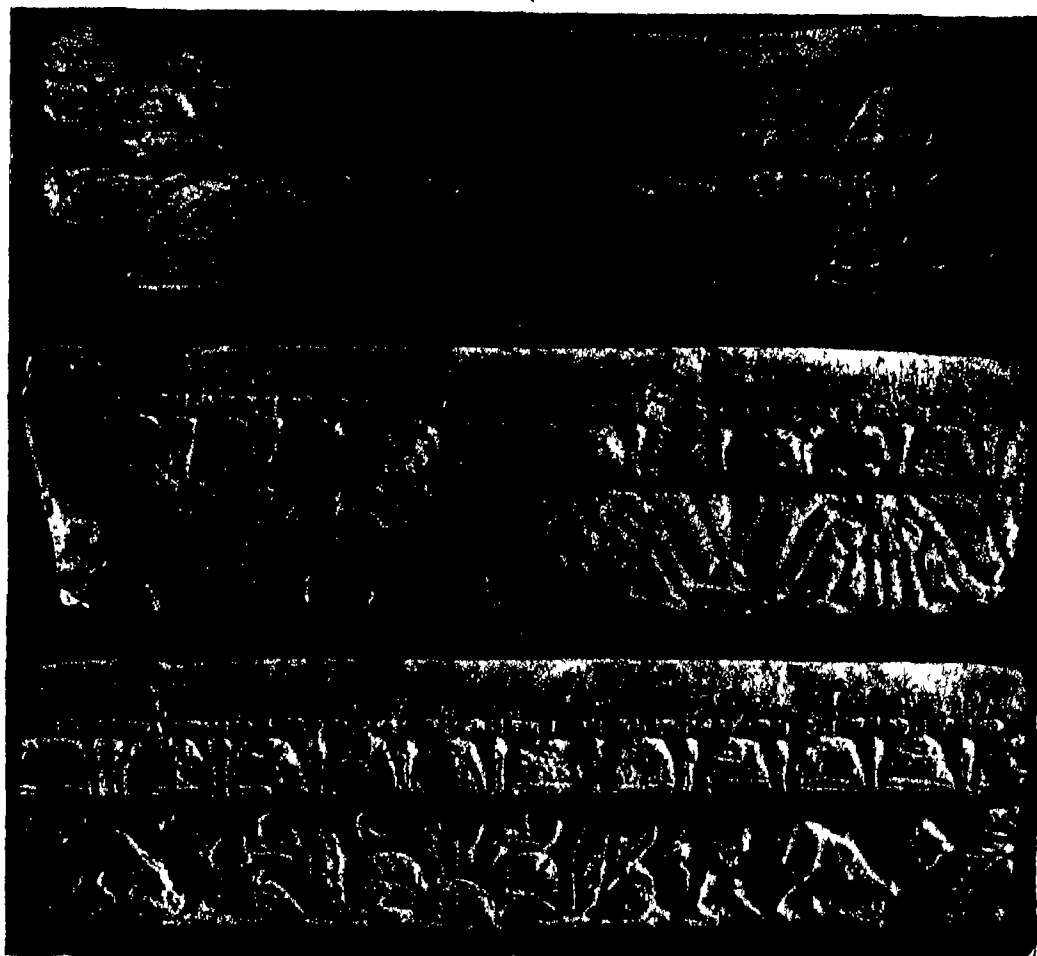
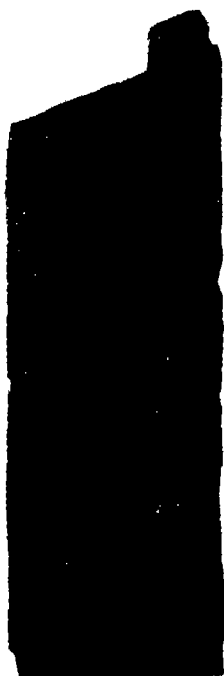



PLATE 6

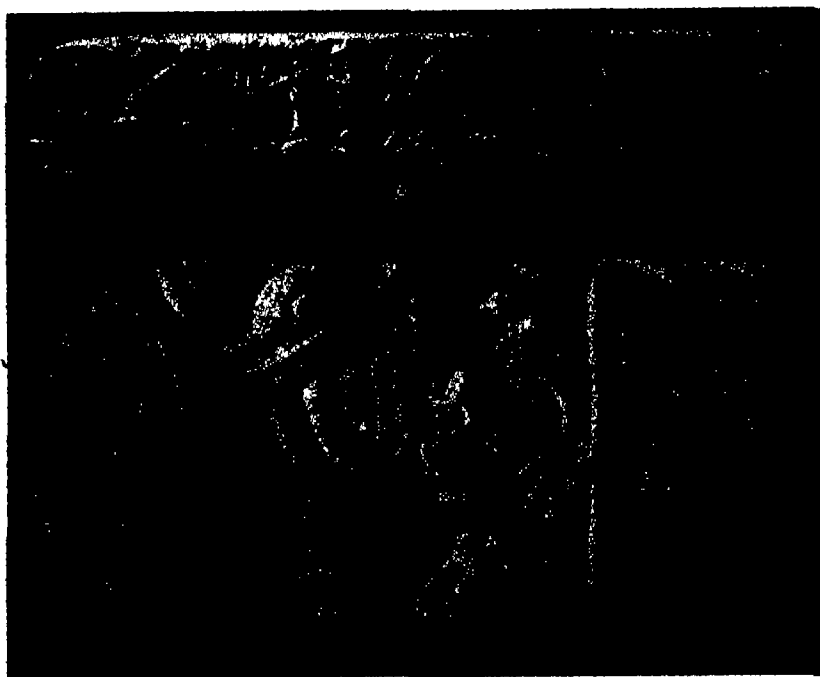
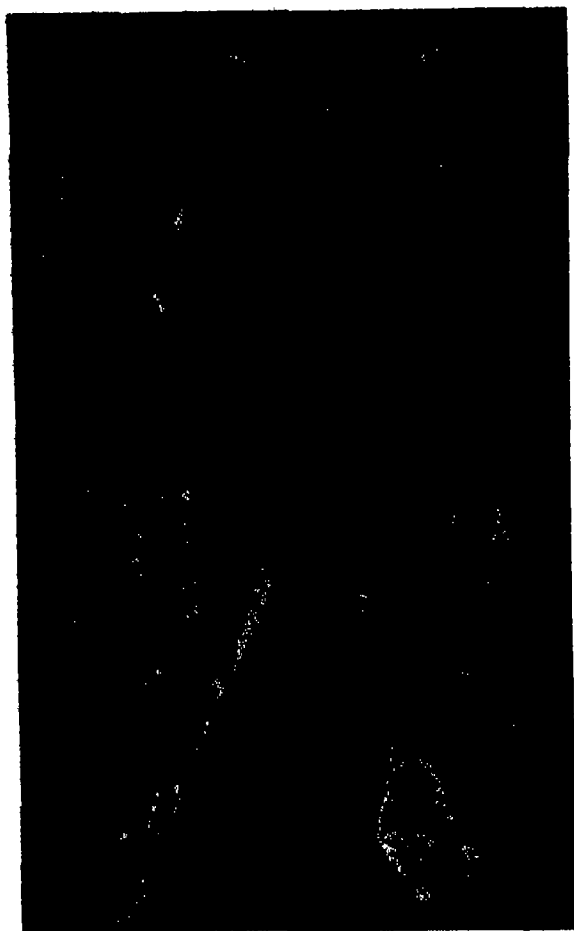
Mathurā : copings of railings

PLATE 7

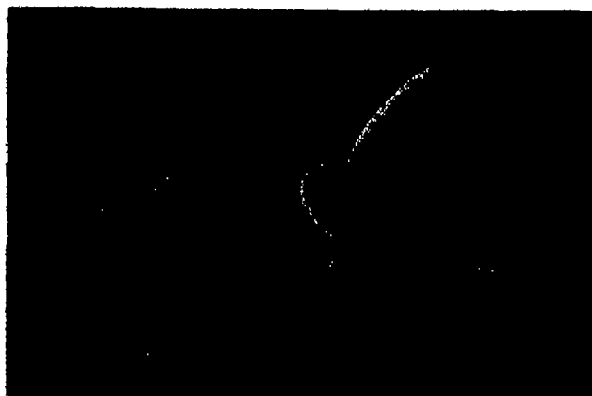
Mathurā : uprights of railings (A, SML, J. 277, B and C, National Museum; D, back view)

PLATE 8

A. Mathurā : railing-post of a staircase (AMM, 14.3 69)

B. Mathurā : fragments of architraves (A, SML, J. 544; B, SML, J. 547)

PLATE 9

A. Mathurā : bracket (obverse and reverse) of a gateway (SML, J. 593A)

B. Mathurā : bracket (obverse and reverse) of a gateway (SML, J. 593 B)

PLATE 10

A. Mathurā : bracket of an architrave (SML, J. 594)

B. Mathurā : pillar (obverse and reverse) of a gateway (SML, J. 532)

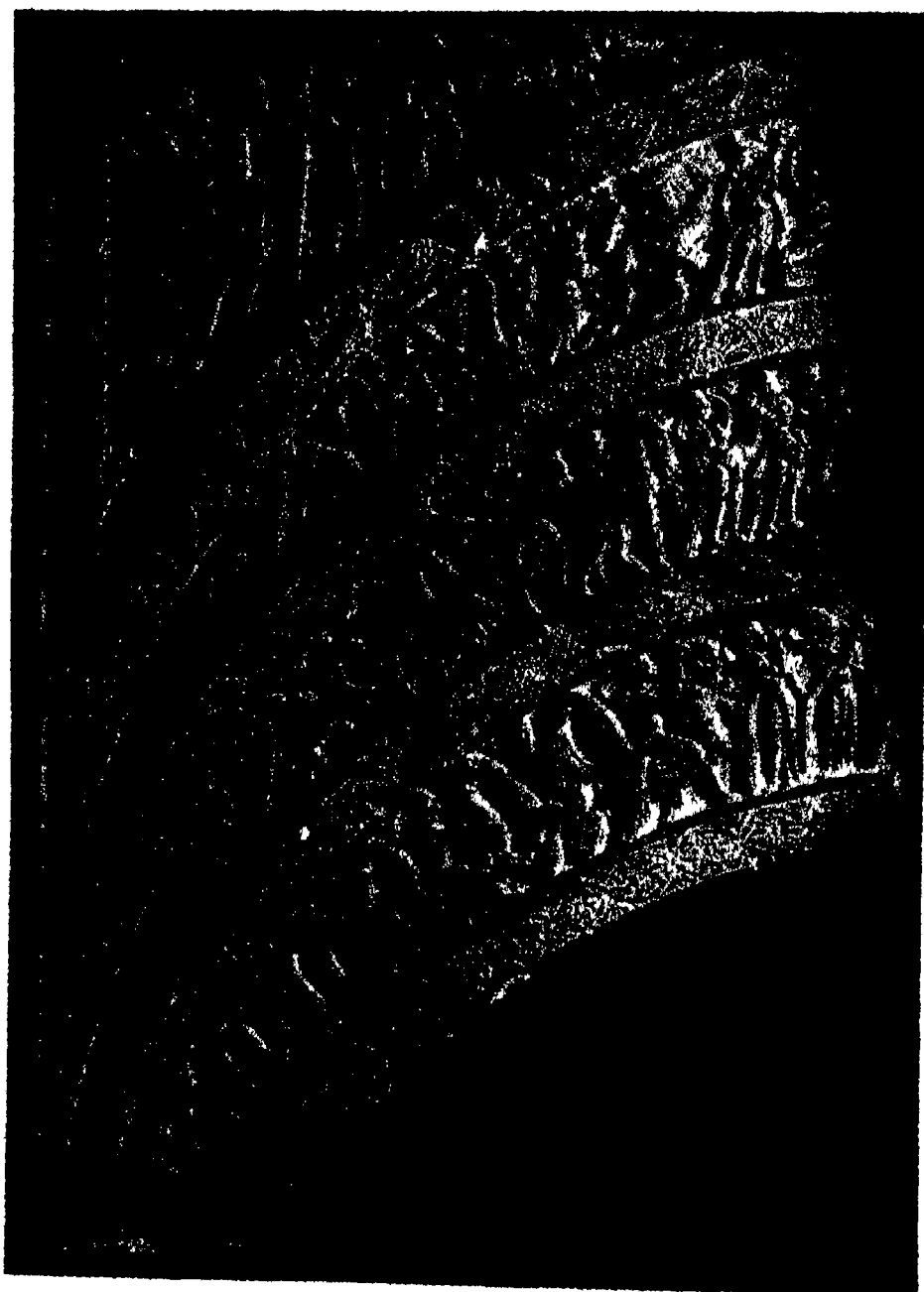



PLATE 11

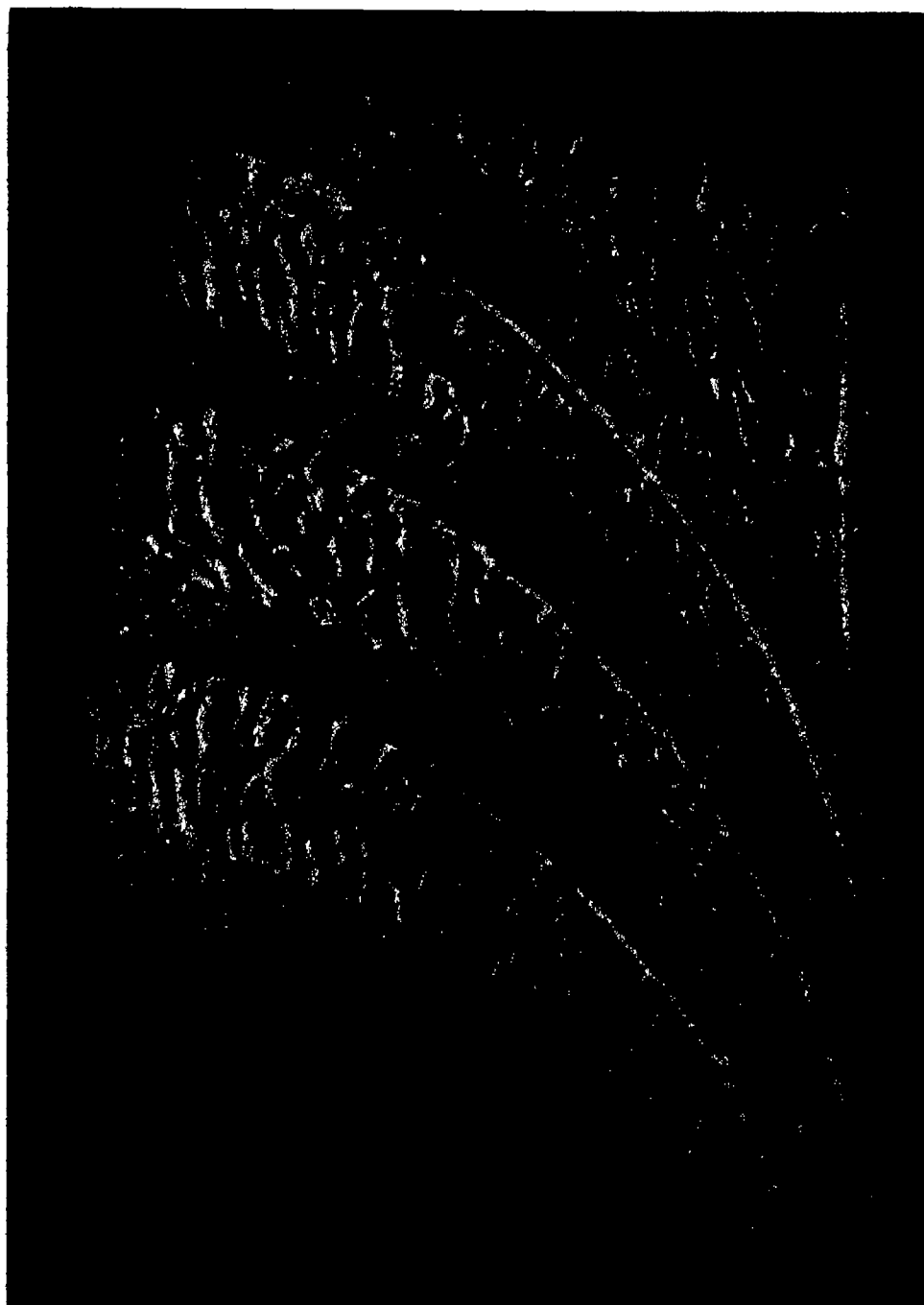
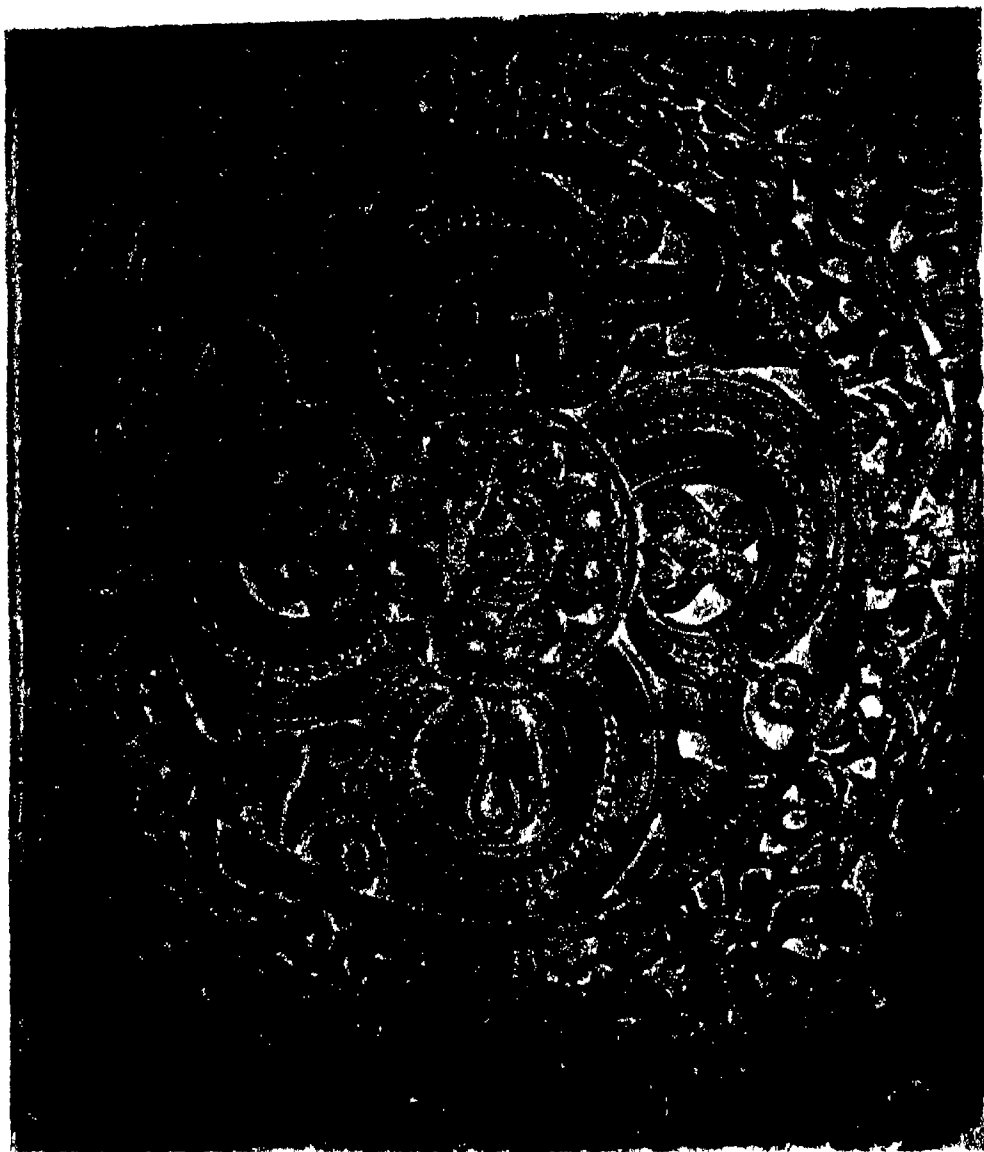
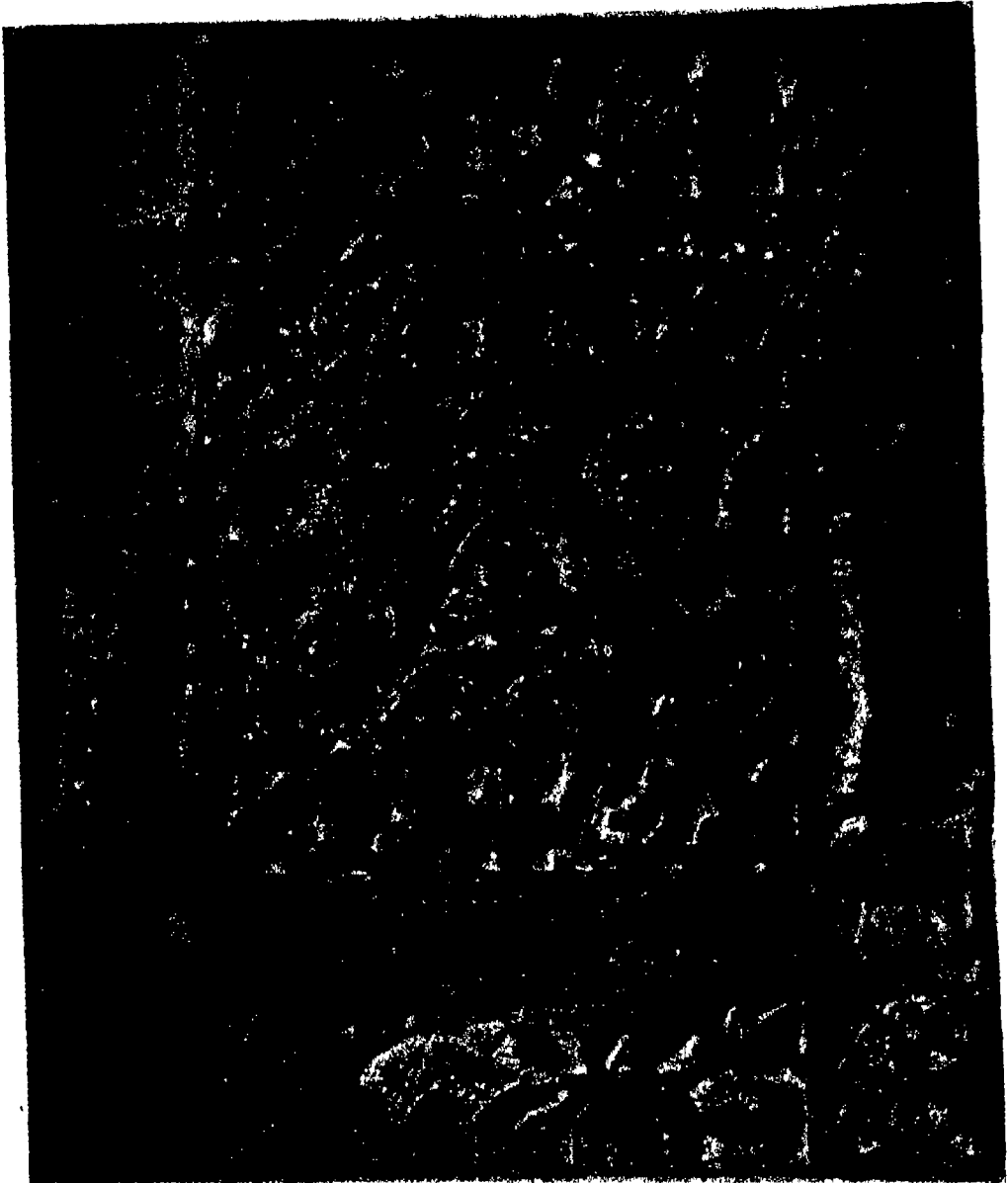
Mathurā : fragment of a tympanum (obverse) (National Museum)

PLATE 12

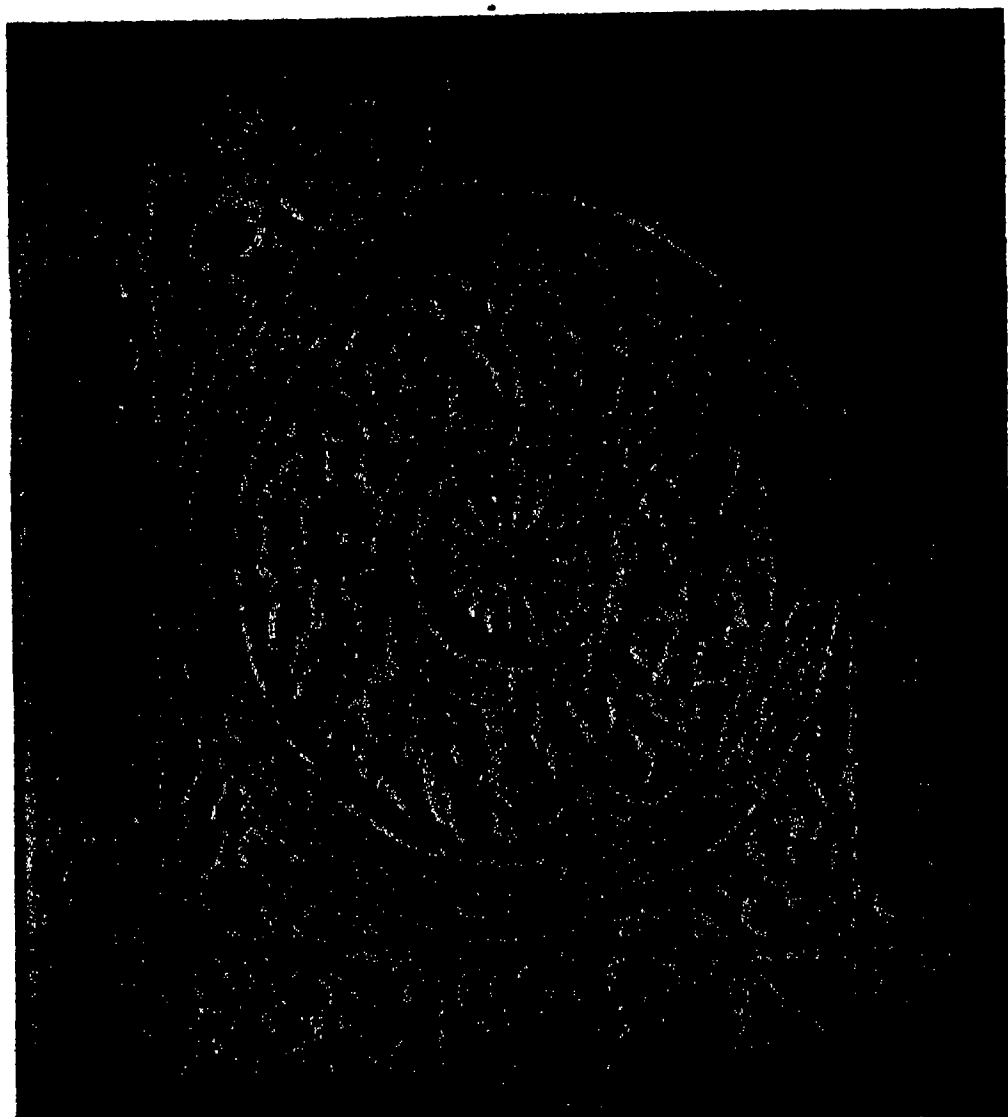
Mathurā : fragment of a tympanum (reverse) (National Museum)

PLATE 13

Mathurā : *āyāga-paṭa* (SML, J. 250)

PLATE 14

Mathurā : *āyāga-paṭa* (AMM, 47·49)

Mathurā : *āyāga-paṭa* (SML, J. 248)

PLATE 16

summarily treated due to the various themes crowded together, it maintains the essential characteristics of the *stūpa* proper—a high cylindrical drum in two balustraded terraces, a low hemispherical dome, a square railing on the dome and a crowning parasol. A second tympanum (SML, B. 207)[1] again presents a tiny *stūpa*. Here there is a base-balustrade.

Another summary representation occurs on a slab, possibly an *āyāga-paṭa* (SML, J. 623), bearing an inscription dated 99, presumably of the Śaka era.[2] Here the *stūpa* (plate 3) flanked by two seated Jinas on either side occurs in the upper register, while the standing figure of a *śramaṇa*, called Kaṇa or Kaṇha along with a lady in *abhaya-mudrā* besides three devotees is in the main panel. The drum of the *stūpa*, in contradistinction to the preceding five representations, has a single terrace. An interesting feature is that the balustraded railings at the ground-level and at the top of the drum have both an arched *toraṇa*. Above the hemispherical dome is a square railing with the dwarf thick *yaṣṭi* of the umbrella in the centre.

There are at least two more tiny representations of *stūpa* with a single-terraced drum. One is on an *āyāga-paṭa* (SML, J. 250; plate 14), while the other occurs within the central lotus-medallion of a railing-post (SML, J. 283; plate 4A).

From the available evidence it appears that the dome and the drum of the Jaina *stūpas* of Mathurā, like Stūpas 1, 2 and 3 of Sanchi, did not receive embellishments, the community apparently choosing to have an austere and plain *stūpa* to maintain its solemnity. Again like the Sanchi *stūpas*, the urge for decoration here found expression on the railings and gateways—the adjuncts, though not essential elements, of the *stūpa*. A large number of the component parts of the railings and gateways found at Kaṅkālī-ṭīlā bear eloquent testimony to the remarkable achievement of the artists of the pre-Kushan and Kushan periods.

The earliest railing (*vedikā*) may go back to the second-first century B.C. To judge from the detached members, it consisted of a series of uprights (*stambha*) connected together by three cross-bars (*sūcī*) and crowned by a running coping (*uṣṇīṣa*). The provision of lenticular sockets on two sides and tenons at the top of the uprights to receive the coping is clearly inspired by the primitive wooden technique which is also palpable in the remnants of the gateways.

[1] *Bulletin of Museums and Archaeology in U.P.*, 9, June 1972, pp. 48 and 49 and fig. 4.

[2] *Epigraphia Indica*, X, 1909-10, p. 117.

The uprights (SML, J. 283, J. 288 and J. 282; plate 4) are partly square and partly octagonal, the latter portions being left bare. While their two sides provide each three mortises to receive lenticular tenons of the cross-bars, the front face and the rear have generally three carved medallions and two half medallions (one each at the base and the top). The repertoire of the motifs, carved in low relief, in the full and half medallions is rather limited, the commonest motif being the lotus rendered in a wide variety of forms. Among other motifs, which include bunch of flowers, honeysuckle, *stūpa* (plate 4A), *makara* and animals (plate 4C), are particularly interesting the composite and fabulous animals (plate 4B). The treatment of the upright at the entrance is somewhat different. These particular uprights are oblong and the carvings cover the entire face. SML, J. 356 is one such upright, discovered at Kaṅkālī-ṭīlā. Its three faces are luxuriantly carved with creepers and flowers of considerable beauty (plate 5), the uncarved fourth side having three lenticular sockets for cross-bars. One (plate 5C) of the carved faces of this particular post bears two lenticular sockets, evidently subsequent provisions, at the cost of the original carvings. It is not unlikely that the sockets were provided for the right-angled extension of the railing, as at Sanchi, when the gateway was installed.

Kaṅkālī-ṭīlā also yielded a large number of lenticular cross-bars (plate 6), of two different sizes, of railings. These cross-bars are relieved with medallions containing various motifs, the most frequent of which is the lotus. Other motifs within the medallions include *vṛkṣa-caitya* (SML. J. 422; plate 6B), bowl (?) on a pedestal,[1] winged conch with oozing coins, foliated leaves, honeysuckle, *śrīvatsa, haṁsa* and animals (SML, J. 403; plate 6C). Many of the animals are in fact fabulous creatures (SML, J. 365; plate 6D) like a human-headed lion, fish-tailed winged lion, fish-tailed elephant (SML, J. 427; plate 6A), fish-tailed crocodile, fish-tailed wolf, fish-tailed griffin, winged goat and winged antelope.

Several heavy coping-stones were found, some of them ascribable to the first century B.C.; with rounded top corners, they are in two registers. The upper, which is thicker and projecting over the lower, is carved usually with a string having alternately bells and bud-shaped pendants. The common motif on the lower register is a stylized wavy band or creeper with flowers (plate 7A and B). Other motifs include luxuriant honeysuckles and animals (plate 7C), the latter in many cases rendered with consummate skill.

[1] According to Dr Jyoti Prasad Jain (personal correspondence), it is either a *śarāva-saṁpuṭa* or *pratiṣṭhāna* (*ṭhauna*), one of the Jaina auspicious symbols.

Kaṅkālī-ṭīlā yielded some interesting uprights which belonged to a railing of the Kushan period. Though shorter than the uprights of the preceding series, these uprights are arresting by virtue of the themes and artistic excellence of the sculptural qualities. While their two sides present three lenticular sockets (mostly truncated at the ends), the top is provided with a tenon. The back side presents two full lotus-medallions and two half lotus-medallions, one each at the base and at the top (plate 8D). At the corners of the medallions are what are called blue lotuses. The spaces intervening the medallions are in three facets. What, however, distinguishes these posts is the portrayal of the lively human figures in bold relief on the front side. The modelling of these well-proportioned figures is fairly mature, displaying the skill of the sculptor in the handling of human figures in various poses. The women with beaming cheeks are rendered free and joyous, engaged in their favourite pastimes and sports. It is rather curious that despite its rigid code of discipline the Jaina community gave the artist a free hand in giving expression of his zeal and zest for depicting the beautiful and even voluptuous female figures with a certain warmth of flesh in an atmosphere of sunshine. Thus, on one upright (SML, J. 277) a lady is seen under an *aśoka*-tree standing with attractive flexions on the back of a crouching dwarf and making up her coiffure with a garland (plate 8A). On another, now in the National Museum, the female figure is almost in a dancing-pose above a pedestal with two lions; with a sword in her left hand, she touches with her raised right hand a cluster of *kadamba*-flowers above the head (plate 8B). On a third, also in the National Museum, a woman, rendered in three-quarters profile and with bent back, is taking her bath under a waterfall cascading from the rocks above (plate 8C).

The carvings on the balustrade of the staircase are also equally rich. On an upright (plate 9A) with a sloping top and a tenon (AMM, 14.369), which had been ascribed to the Kushan period, is seen a lady holding a tray with some objects covered by a conical lid in her raised left hand and a handled pot with a high base in her right hand under an *aśoka*-tree. The back side is relieved with full and half lotus-medallions having three facets in between.

The reliefs on two of the already-noted *āyāga-paṭas* (AMM, Q. 2 and SML, J. 255) appear to present faithful representations of the gateways of the pre-Kaniṣka age. Of the gateways of the *stūpas*, several detached members were recovered. One of the early *toraṇa*-architraves is SML, J. 535, a work possibly of the first century B.C. It formed the central portion (between the two end-blocks) of the bottom architrave which is slightly curved. The front side depicts a *stūpa* worshipped by two *suparṇas* (half-men and half-bird) and

five centaurs, holding variously a garland, vases with garlands, a bunch of blue lotuses and a lotus (plate 2A). While winged figures are reminiscent of those in the Assyrian and Persian sculptures, the centaurs are presumably inspired by Greek prototypes. On the rear side (plate 2B) is depicted a lively procession of devotees, two on an elephant, three on horses, two on foot and several within a bullock-cart, on a mission of visiting probably the *stūpa* itself. Remarkable for their vitality, the animals are drawn from life; the spirited horses, particularly, bespeak the consummate skill of the artist. In the central portion of the underside is carved a lotus-drop.

SML, J. 544 (plate 9B, A) is another *toraṇa*-architrave which is horizontal and appears to be slightly later than the preceding. The central portion is luxuriantly carved with a creeper of compelling beauty and freshness; the undulating stem encompasses lotuses, buds and leaves of exquisite execution. The creeper is flanked on either side by a square panel (in vertical alignment of the *toraṇa*-pillars) containing a dwarf in the act of supporting the superstructure. Curiously enough, the snake-like legs of the dwarf end in a forked tail. Such figures, which are also found on many carved slabs including pre-Kaniṣka *āyāga-paṭas*, are perhaps the adaptation of a Hellenistic motif. Beyond the panels are the two projected ends (sinister missing) relieved with a fish-tailed *makara* having a fish in its mouth. The extreme end is semicircular. The fragment of another architrave (SML, J. 547) of this type shows at the dexter end a Garuḍa holding in its beak a three-hooded serpent which has coiled itself around the neck of the former (plate 9B, B). Beyond it is the partly-preserved panel depicting a cart with unyoked bullocks.

Specimens of two distinct types of gateway-brackets have been found at Kaṅkālī-ṭīlā. One type represents the *śālabhañjikās*. There are several specimens of *toraṇa-śālabhañjikās*, which, rising from the *toraṇa*-pillars, supported the two ends of the bottom architrave of the gateways. Two of them (SML, J. 595 *a* and *b*; plate 10A and B) belonging to one and the same gateway, are intact. Both the brackets have at the base a tenon which was inserted into the socket of the pillar. Fashioned in the round, both the female figures are fully finished in the front and partially in the back. Though possessing certain features (e.g. coiffure, ornaments, figures below the feet) of the railing-figures of Bharhut, they mark an advance over the former by virtue of their superior modelling and appear to be somewhat earlier than the *toraṇa-śālabhañjikās* of Sanchi. Leaning against the trunk of a flowering tree (possibly *aśoka*), both of them grasp the branches of the tree. While the one on the dexter stands on a bent human figure (plate 10A), the one which was on the sinister is on the

head of an elephant (plate 10B). Other brackets of this type are all in fragments.[1] In two of them, the female figure stands on a *makara* with a fish-tail. The other type of brackets represents a lion as depicted in an *āyāga-paṭa* (AMM, Q. 2; plate 1). A complete specimen (plate 11A) of this type is SML, J. 594.

Among the gateway-pillars, those of the Kushan period are particularly rich in carvings. One (plate 11B) of these bears an inscription recording the gift of a *toraṇa* by the *śrāvikā* Balahastini.[2] The two faces of these pillars are, as at Sanchi, compartmented from bottom upwards into a succession of panels, separated from one another by a railing-motif. The subject-matter of the panels is mostly mundane, showing scenes of love, palace-life, drinking couple, man attending to the coiffure of a woman, woman decorating herself, dancing couple, and so on, but religious scenes depicting men and women carrying garlands and flowers are not entirely lacking. The venue of the mundane scenes is invariably a pillared pavilion with open sides and semicylindrical roof; the two semicircular ends of the latter present *caitya*-arches. The shaft of the pillars supporting the roof is square below and octagonal above with chamfering of arrises in some cases. Over the shaft is a projected member with lotus-petals supporting the abacus on which rest winged lions. Above the lions is a gradually expanding member with voluted top-corners. Several pillars of this type have been found at Kaṅkālī-ṭīlā. Two of the pavilions are connected with a lotus-lake, evidently meant for the *jala-krīḍā* of the nobility. The treatment of these scenes is admirable. Untrammelled by religious conventions, the artist was at ease to display his skill in depicting men and women in various actions and in a wide variety of poses.

Of others members of the gateways, several carved blocks which had been inserted between the architraves, lion-capitals of the *toraṇa*-pillars and crowning elements were found. Possibly included in the last are two *tri-ratnas*[3] (or *nandipadas*) supporting a wheel (mostly missing). Curiously enough, the upper portion of one of these *tri-ratnas* (or *nandipadas*) above the circular portion is composed of two *makaras* with a fish-tail.

SHRINES AND MONASTERIES

As already noted (above, p. 51), the epigraphic evidence and also the finds of images point to the existence of temples in the second century B.C. and

[1] Smith, *op. cit.*, plates XXXVI and C.
[2] SML, J. 532; Lüders, *List*, no. 108.
[3] Smith, *op. cit.*, pls. XL and L2.

onwards. There were no doubt *vihāras* as well for the residence of the Jaina monks. It is, however, not possible to reconstruct these structures from the available evidence. It is also not known if the earliest Jaina sanctuary was apsidal as at Udayagiri (chapter 7), or elliptical or quadrilateral. The Buddhist reliefs of Mathurā of the Kushan period present representations of apsidal and quadrilateral shrines.[1] Most probably the shrines, halls and monasteries were of brick, and stones were used generally in pillars, pilasters, door-frames, windows, pavements and drain-channels. A few specimens[2] of the last show that these drains too received lavish carvings. Their sides were decorated with aquatic creatures like fish and fish-tailed *makara* (the latter sometimes chasing the former) and auspicious symbols. Some specimens[3] of the windows have been recovered. One intact specimen shows square perforations at four corners of the connected crosses. The central square of the crosses is criss-crossed into rows of diamonds, while the arms are decorated with four-petalled flowers. A fragmentary perforated window is made of groups of petals, each group having four. Another fragment shows an eight-petalled lotus.

Of great interest is a fragment (slightly less than half) of a tympanum (now in the National Museum; plates 12 and 13) which might have belonged to a shrine instead of the *toraṇa* of a *stūpa* as is commonly believed. Both sides of this piece are exuberantly carved with care, the layout of the decoration being nearly the same. Each face is divided into three semicircular (half existing) panels within four bands decorated with floral and creeper motifs. The triangular spandril at the corner of the front side is relieved with a group of devotees approaching a *stūpa*; in front of the *stūpa* are four platforms crowned by *āyāga-paṭas*, while below the devotees is a covered wheeled carriage. A larger *cortege* of worshippers is seen above a similar carriage on the spandril of the reverse side; in front of this group are a *pūrṇa-ghaṭa*, a petal-shaped basket with garlands and three bowls covered by lids. The ends of the lunate panels of both the faces have fish-tailed *makaras*, the mouth of which is being opened by boyish figures in five cases. The rest of the available portions of the panels of two faces depicts men and women and flying Vidyādharas proceeding towards the objects of worship which were depicted in the central portion (missing) of the panels. While some devotees are on foot, others are within

[1] J. Ph. Vogel, *La Sculpture de Mathurā*, Paris and Bruxelles, 1930, plate XXIII *a* and *c*. The relief numbered *a* of this plate depicts also a monastery within a compound-wall. The entrance is flanked by pylon-like projections. The layout of the cottages appears to be quadrangular (*catuḥ-śālā*). The roofs, possibly tiled, are triangular in shape with a gable at either end.

[2] Smith, *op. cit.*, plate XLII.

[3] *Ibid.*, plate XLI.

carriages drawn by bullocks and horses, and still there are others on the back of composite animals with fish-tails and serpentine bodies. In the top panel of the obverse is represented a *vimāna*, possibly drawn by *haṁsas*, an oblong structure with a semicylindrical roof having *caitya*-arches at two ends and railing at at the base.

ĀYĀGA-PAṬAS

This particular tympanum throws significant light on the manner in which the *āyāga-paṭas* were used. As already noted, there are four oblong solid platforms (*pīṭhikā* or *vedī*) adjacent to the *stūpa*. Resting on the top of each of these platforms is seen a carved slab. The carvings on the slabs are no doubt summarily executed due to the miniature scale of the slabs; still, the general arrangement and layout of the designs point to the slabs being undoubtedly *āyāga-paṭas*. The slab over the platform nearest to the *stūpa* bears in the central portion a medallion which serves for the basal circle of four *tri-ratnas* (or *nandipadas*), the upper members[1] of these symbols being arranged around the central circle. Similar arrangement of *tri-ratnas* (or *nandipadas*) is found in the case of several specimens of *āyāga-paṭas* (e.g. SML, J. 249, J. 250 and J. 253 and AMM, 48.3424). The representation of four *āyāga-paṭas* in this tympanum may suggest that the *pīṭhikās* capped by *āyāga-paṭas* were placed near the Main Stūpa, possibly in front of its four cardinal sides. However, it may be stated that the number of *āyāga-paṭas* of the first half of the first century A.D. exceeds four. Further, from the dedicatory records on the tablets established by Vāsu (above, p. 52) and Nandighoṣa,[2] it appears that these *āyāga-paṭas* were also installed at the *Arhatāyatana* and the *bhaṇḍīra*[3]-tree or -grove. The word *bhaṇḍīra* signifies both *nyagrodha* (*vaṭa*) tree (*Ficus indica*), the *kevala-vṛkṣa* of Ṛṣabhanātha, and *śirīsa* (*Acacia Sirissa*), the *kevala-vṛkṣa* of Supārśvanātha, the former tree (*bhaṇḍīra-vaṭa*) of Mathurā having been sacred in ancient days. As already noted (above, p. 50), Mahāvīra during his

[1] On a specimen from Chaubiā-Pāḍā, Mathurā, (AMM, 48.3426), these members are formed of a pair of *makaras* holding aloft a lotus with their proboscis.

[2] Lüders, *List*, no. 95.

[3] Bühler read the word as *bhaṁdire* and noted that 'one is tempted to read *mandire* "in the temple". But the first consonant seems plain', *Epigraphia Indica*, I, 1892, p. 397, n. 35. As pointed out by Lüders (*Indian Antiquary*, XXXIII, 1904, p. 151), the correct reading is *bhaṁḍire*. In this connexion Lüders remarked that 'whether this means "at the *bhaṇḍira* tree", or possibly stands for Sk. *bhāṇḍāre*, "at the storehouse", I do not venture to decide at present.' On going through the account of Mahāvīra's visit to Mathurā in the *Vivāgasuya* (above, p. 50), one feels certain that the *bhaṁḍira* of Nandighoṣa's inscription dedicating *āyāga-paṭas* stands for the Bhaṇḍīra-grove or -tree.

sojourn at Mathurā most probably halted at the Bhaṇḍīra-*udyāna* which was the abode of Yakṣa Sudarśana. Apparently, the *bhaṇḍīra*-tree or -grove was sacred to the Jainas on account of its association with Mahāvīra.

While most of the available *āyāga-paṭas*, which form a class by themselves, have been assigned a pre-Kaniṣka date, a few no doubt belong to the Kushan period. The carvings on most of these *āyāga-paṭas* are exuberant and reflect the zeal and skill of the artists in weaving a good number of motifs, both indigenous and of foreign inspiration, into compositions of surprising excellence (plate 14) for beautifying these cherished objects of sanctity. The religious character of these *āyāgā-paṭas* is evident not only by the available inscriptions (referring to the setting up of the *āyāga-paṭas* for the worship of the Arhats) but by the depiction of *stūpas* (plates 1 and 2B), figures of Tīrthaṅkaras (plates 14 and 15), *caitya-vṛkṣa, dharma-cakra* (plate 16) and auspicious symbols, including *aṣṭa-maṅgalas*,[1] particularly sacred to Jainism.

As suggested by Shah,[2] the precursor of the *āyāga-paṭas* might have been the *puḍhavi-śilā-paṭṭa* (*pṛthvī-śilā-paṭṭa*) placed on a small platform at the foot of *vṛkṣa-caityas*, sacred to the sylvan folk-divinities, Yakṣas and Nāgas. In early reliefs we find devotees worshipping such vacant *vedis* or altars below the trees. Such *vedis* were conceived as of high sanctity, being the sacred seat and symbolizing the physical presence of the invisible divinities. The latter were worshipped by the local people who used to put various offerings, including floral, on these *vedis*. The worship of folk-divinities is of hoary antiquity and has survived in many parts of India even now in the cult of *grāma-devatās*.

The representations of Jinas and *stūpas* on the *āyāga-paṭas* tend to prove that these slabs perched on the *vedis* or *pīṭhas* did not serve merely as *arghya-paṭṭas* or *bali-paṭṭas*, where flowers and other offerings were deposited for worshipping the Jinas and *stūpas*, as in the case of the purely ornamental slabs. On the contrary, these representations would suggest that these *āyāga-paṭas*[3] were themselves, like the image of the Arhat at the *deva-nirmita stūpa*, were objects of worship, a presumption supported by the manner in which the sprinkling of flowers is depicted on two of the *āyāga-paṭas* in front of the *stūpa* represented on the tympanum in question. Just as the pious dedication of the

[1] Shah, *op. cit.*, pp. 109-12; V.S. Agrawala, 'Aṣṭamaṅgalakamālā', *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, New Series, II, 1967-68, pp. 1-3.

[2] Shah, *op. cit.*, p. 69.

[3] In this connexion Bühler's remarks are noteworthy : '*Āyāga* occurs in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, I, 32, 12 (Bo. ed.) and is explained by the commentator as *yājanīyadevatā*, a deity to be worshipped, i.e. an object of homage,' *Epigraphia India*, I, p. 396, n. 28.

Mathurā : a Tīrthaṅkara (SML, J. 15)

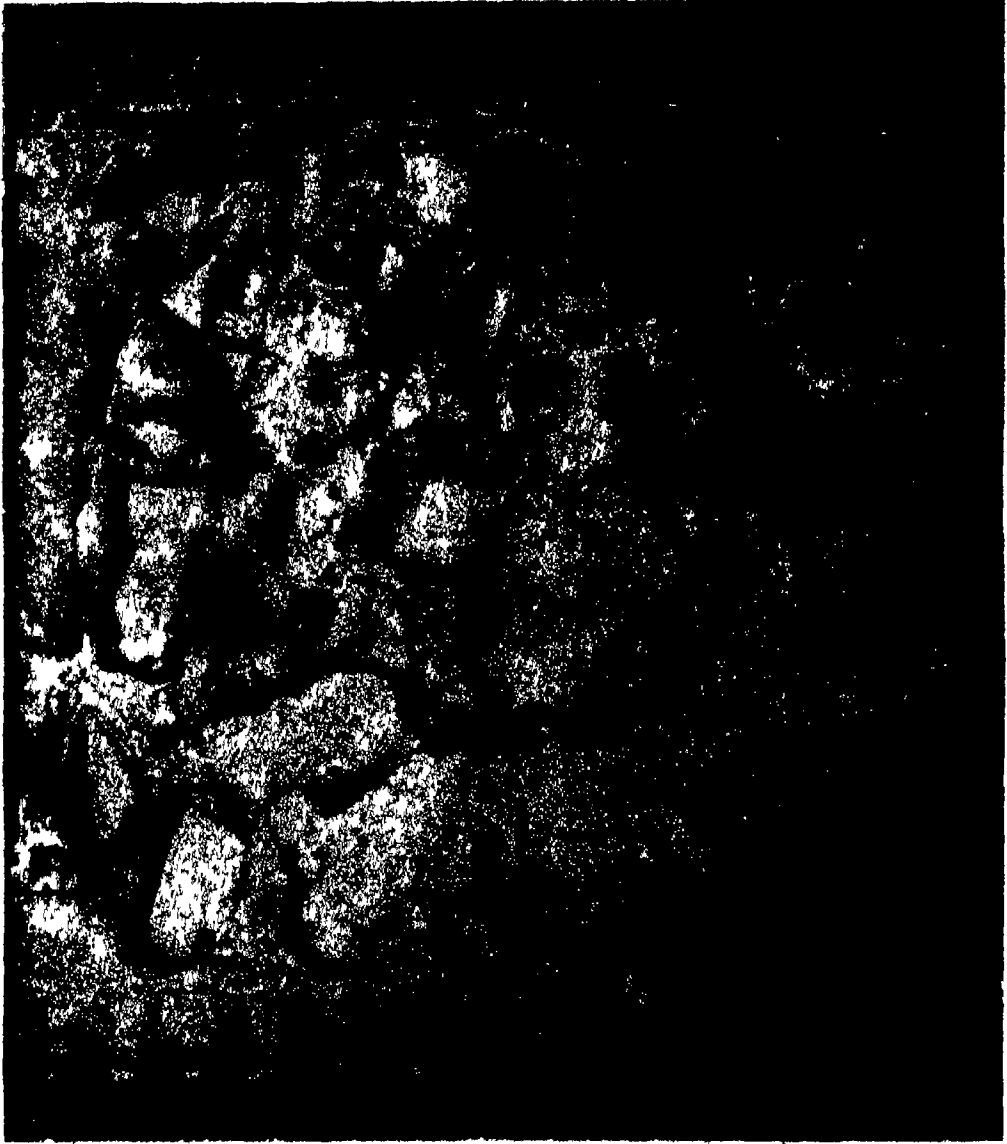
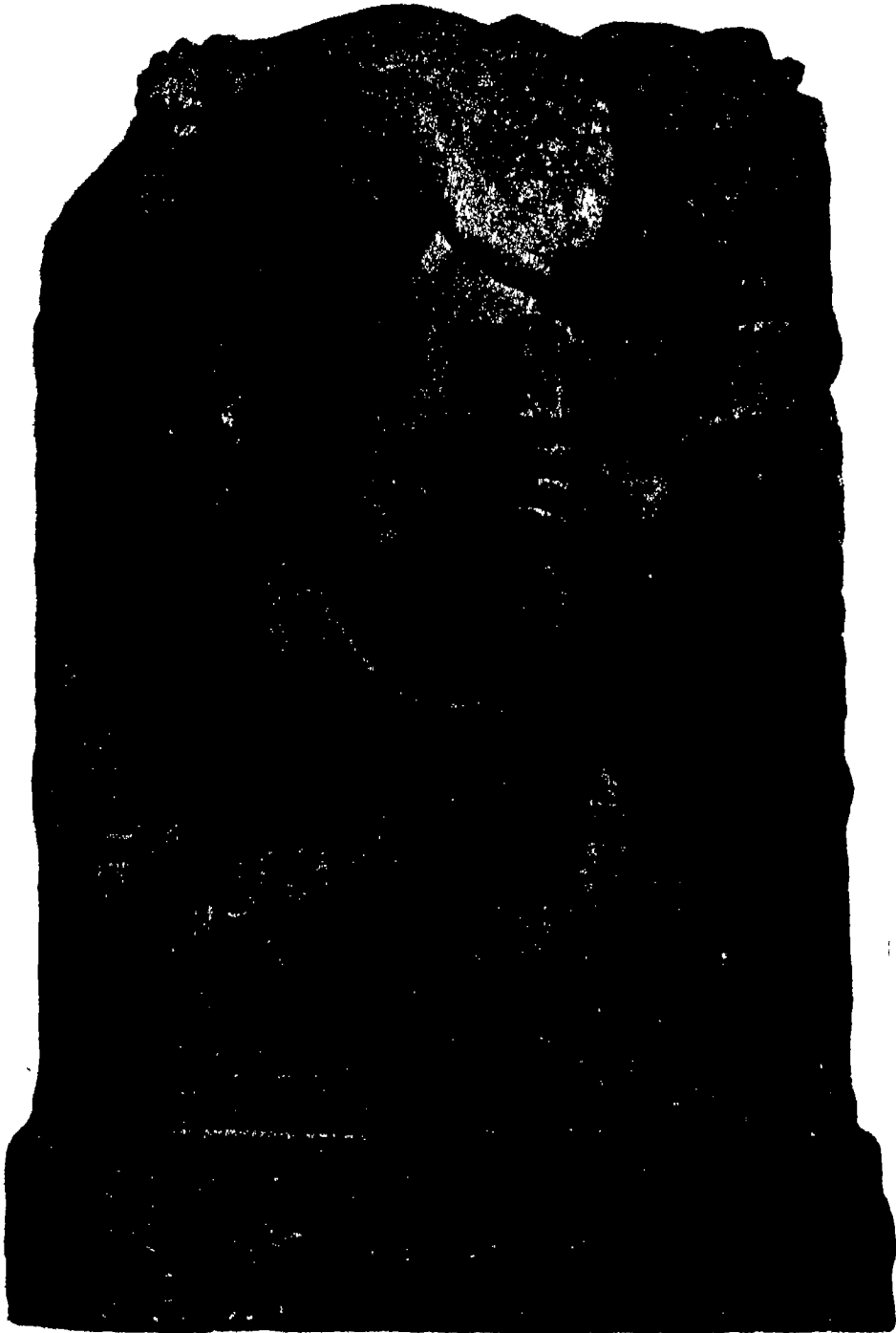
PLATE 17

Mathurā : *pratimā sarvatobhadrikā*, view of two sides

Mathurā : Yakṣī Āryavatī (SML, J. 1)

PLATE 19

Mathurā : Sarasvatī (SML, J. 24)

PLATE 20

Buddhists took generally the form of *stūpas*, the pious donations of the Jainas of this period at Mathurā were *āyāga-paṭas*. The practice of installing these slabs on *vedis* as pious dedications with the object of earning religious merit probably became defunct when the installation of the images of the Tīrthaṅkaras on small platforms or pedestals on four sides of the *stūpas* and in temples and other sacred spots became widely prevalent.

JINA AND OTHER IMAGES

A prolific centre of art, Mathurā played a significant role in the development of the Jaina iconography as well. There are very limited representations of the incidents from the life of the Tīrthaṅkaras like the dance of Nīlāñjanā[1] which inspired Ṛṣabhadeva to renounce the world and Harinaigameṣin, who, according to the *Kalpa-sūtra*, removed the embryo of Mahāvīra from the womb of Brāhmaṇī Devānandā to that of Kṣatriyāṇī Triśalā.[2] It appears that images of Tīrthaṅkaras interested the Mathurā artists and their clientele more than anything else, with the result that numerous images were produced in the workshop of Mathurā from the first century A.D. to the Gupta period.

The earliest figures of the Tīrthaṅkaras are found on the *āyāga-paṭas* assigned by Bühler to the period before Kaniṣka. In the figures the robeless Jinas with an umbrella over head are seated cross-legged with hands on the lap. *Lāñchanas* are not depicted; consequently Pārśvanātha alone can be distinguished by the seven-hooded serpent-canopy over the head.

Of the Kushan period there are numerous images, many of them being inscribed and several bearing dates of the Kushan rulers ranging in date from the year 5 in the reign of Kaniṣka[3] to the year 98 in the reign of Vāsudeva. The iconography of the Jinas, without the paraphernalia of the later period, are almost standardized, though the distinguishing *lāñchanas* are yet to be evolved, with the result that, unless the names of the Tīrthaṅkaras are mentioned in dedicatory inscriptions, it is not possible to differentiate the individual Tīrthaṅkaras, except Pārśvanātha who is marked by a canopy of snake-hoods and Ṛṣabhanātha who has some locks of hair falling on his shoulders.

[1] Shah, *op. cit.*, 1955, p. 11; *Bulletin of Museums and Archaeology in U.P.*, 9, June 1972, pp. 47-48.

[2] Dr Jyoti Prasad Jain is, however, of the opinion (in personal correspondence) that the representations allude to the transfer of the newly-born babes of Devakī in Kaṁsa's prison to the bosom of Alakā, wife of Sudraṣṭa, a merchant of Bhadrilapura.

[3] One of the images in dated in the year 4 (Lüders, *List*, no. 16), presumably of the era used by Kushan rulers.

The images, normally robeless, with the *śrīvatsa*-mark on the chest and with circular haloes, scalloped in some cases, are either seated cross-legged with hands in *dhyāna-mudrā* (plate 17) or standing in *kāyotsarga*-pose. While several of the images present the appearance of shaven heads, others have hair, rendered in short spiral curls or in lunate notches on rolls gathered round the head. In the images of Ṛṣabhanātha the matted locks are thrown backward. *Uṣṇīṣa* is usually absent. On the façade of the pedestal there is a relief of a *dharma-cakra* in many cases. In the absence of the cognizances and also of marshalling of images of twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras together, it is not known if all the twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras were conceived and given form in this period, though there is no doubt about the emergence of at least seven Jinas.[1] That four of the Tīrthaṅkaras were held particularly sacred by the Jaina community of Mathurā is proved by the find of several quadruple images, called *pratimā sarvatobhadrikā* (known as *caumukha-pratimā* in later periods) in the dedicatory inscriptions, one being dated in the year 5, presumably of Kaniṣka.[2] This interesting type of images (plate 18) presents the figure of a Tīrthaṅkara on each of the four sides of a stone block. The figures on two faces in most cases can easily be identified as Ṛṣabhanātha and Pārśvanātha distinguished by locks and serpent-hoods respectively. Of the remaining two, one is certainly Mahāvīra and the other might be Neminātha, who being the cousin of Kṛṣṇa and Balarāma, was greatly esteemed at Mathurā. Capped by umbrellas, the *sarvatobhadrikā pratimās* were most probably installed in the open within the sacred precincts of the Main Stūpa. Reference may be made to a slab already noticed in connexion with the *stūpas*, bearing a dedicatory inscription in the year 99. Here four seated Tīrthaṅkaras—two each on either side of a *stūpa*—are represented in the upper register, one being Pārśvanātha. It is not unlikely that the panel conveys the idea of four images either installed in front of the four cardinal directions of a *stūpa* or within the *stūpa*-niches facing the cardinal directions.

An interesting class of images of the Kushan and post-Kushan periods represents a Tīrthaṅkara identified as Neminātha, flanked by Balarāma and Vāsudeva Kṛṣṇa (or Viṣṇu). One such image[3] of the late Kushan period shows

[1] The available inscriptions present the names of Vardhamāna-Mahāvīra, Ṛṣabhanātha, Pārśvanātha, Ariṣṭanemi (Neminātha) and Sambhavanātha. While the name of Śāntinātha has been doubtfully read by Bühler in a dedicatory inscription (*Epigraphia Indica*, I, p. 383), Bajpai read Munisuvrata in place of Nandiāvarta (which is the cognizance of Aranātha) in an inscription dated 79 (*Epigraphia Indica*, II, p. 204) or 49 (Lüders, *List*, no. 47).

[2] *Journal of the U.P. Historical Society*, XXIII, 1950, p. 36.

[3] AMM, 2502; *Journal of the U.P. Historical Society*, XXIII, 1950, pp. 50 f.

Balarāma with seven hoods and four hands : the upper right hand holds a *hala* (plough), the lower left hand being akimbo. Vāsudeva-Kṛṣṇa carries in the upper left hand a *gadā* (mace) and in upper right a *cakra* (wheel); the objects in the remaining two hands are broken. Above the figures are a projecting canopy and representation of leaves of the *vetasa*, the *kevala*-tree of Naminātha.

Among other figures, two are specially noteworthy. One (SML, J. 1) is the relief of Āryavatī attended by three women holding an umbrella, a *cāmara* and a garland and a boyish figure with folded hands on an inscribed votive tablet of red sandstone (plate 19).[1] The tablet, possibly an *āyāga-paṭa*, bears a dedicatory inscription of Amohinī, dated in the year 72 (A.D. 15) of the Mahākṣatrapa Śoḍāsa. Āryavatī, who stands in *sama-pada* with her left hand near the waist and right hand in *abhaya-mudrā*, has generally been identified with Triśalā, mother of Mahāvīra.

The other, though now headless, is highly interesting, being the earliest Jaina image of Sarasvatī (plate 20)[2] so far discovered. Dated in the year 54 (A.D. 132), it bears a dedicatory inscription. Seated squat with knees drawn up above an oblong pedestal, the goddess, specifically named as Sarasvatī, holds a book in her left hand which rests on the waist. The broken palm of the right hand, which was raised to the shoulder, most probably held a rosary. The installation of an image of Sarasvatī, the goddess of learning, at such an early period is of great import, as it would indicate that the Jainas not only attached great importance to the pursuit of knowledge but started the literary activity at a very early time.[3]

Images of the Tīrthaṅkaras of the first and second centuries A.D. are in a class and style apart from the human figures delineated on the railing-posts and tympana. Characterized by heavy shoulders and chest and archaic stolidity, these images with open eyes are rather stiff in pose and devoid of expression and grace. These features may not be due either to the lack of skill of the artist or his conservative spirit to retain the features of the primitive earth-bound figures of the Yakṣas which served as the models for the images of Buddha, Bodhisattvas and Tīrthaṅkaras initially. It appears that the artist, though fairly at ease in handling human form, was conditioned by the restraint

[1] *Epigraphia Indica*, II, p. 199; D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions*, I, Calcutta, 1965, pp. 120 f.

[2] SML, J. 24; Lüders, *List*, no. 54.

[3] Jyoti Prasad Jain, *The Jaina Sources of the History of Ancient India (100 B.C.-A.D. 900)*, Delhi, 1964, pp. 100-19.

of the hieratic coterie to delineate images of the Tīrthaṅkaras in a manner that would emphasize their rigorous life and penance. Still, one cannot escape the feeling that the artist has not yet succeeded in giving expression to the true character of the serene Jinas, noted for their spiritual strength, firmness of will and discipline. This is particularly evident in the facial expression and the rendering of the limbs, which are disproportionate in most cases and are often flat. A considerable progress, however, was made by the sculptors towards the end of this period when the images started to assume fully-absorbed calm and contemplative expression, charming equipoise and grace which culminated in the spiritually luminous figures of the Gupta age.

DEBALA MITRA

CHAPTER 7

EAST INDIA

BIHAR

OF ALL REGIONS, BIHAR WAS THE EARLIEST STRONGHOLD OF JAINISM. Many of its villages and towns were graced by the presence of Mahāvīra, the capitals and important towns of three of the east-Indian Mahā-janapadas, namely Vṛji, Magadha and Aṅga, being particularly associated with him. The Vṛjian confederacy comprised eight or nine clans including the Licchavis and the Videhas. Vaiśālī, the capital of the Licchavis, was the native town of Mahāvīra, as he was born at Kuṇḍagrāma, a suburb of the capital. His mother was a sister (according to another tradition daughter) of the Licchavi chief Ceṭaka. Mahāvīra, in the course of his wanderings, spent a large number of rainy seasons at Vaiśālī and its suburb Vāṇijyagrāma, and for six rainy seasons he was at Mithilā, the capital of Videha. Rājagṛha, the capital of Magadha, was also a favourite *varṣāvāsa* of Mahāvīra: here and in its neighbouring village of Nālandā, he spent as many as fourteen *varṣās* or rainy seasons. According to the Jaina tradition, king Śreṇika-Bimbisāra, who had married Cellanā, a daughter of Ceṭaka of Vaiśālī, and his son Kūṇika-Ajātaśatru were devoted to him. Campā, the capital of Aṅga, which was annexed to the Magadhan empire by Bimbisāra, was also a favourite resort of Mahāvīra.

Jainism continued to receive royal patronage in east India even after the death of Mahāvīra. Thus, when Udayabhadra, the successor of Ajātaśatru and a devout Jaina, ascended the throne of Magadha, which by this time had incorporated into itself the Licchavi principality, he built a Jaina shrine in the newly-founded capital of Pāṭaliputra.[1] Later on, the Nandas also were favourably disposed towards Jainism and their ministers were Jainas. According to late Jaina traditions, Candragupta Maurya, who brought to an end the rule of the Nandas, came under the influence of Jainism in his last days and left his capital Pāṭaliputra, along with monk Bhadrabāhu and a large

[1] *The Age of Imperial Unity*, ed. R.C. Majumdar and A.D. Pusalker, Bombay, 1960, p. 29.

following for the south when a dreadful famine had overtaken Magadha. The famine is said to have lasted for twelve years, at the end of which was convened the first Jaina Council at Pāṭaliputra to compile the canon.

Though Aśoka, the grandson of Candragupta, took up the cause of Buddhism with great zeal, he did not neglect the Nirgranthas (Jainas) as may be gathered from his seventh Pillar-edict, wherein he says that his Dharma-mahāmātras (officers of piety) were engaged equally among the Saṁgha (Buddhist church), Brāhmaṇas, Ājīvikas and Nirgranthas. Among his successors Samprati is stated to have been a devout Jaina ruler, who rendered considerable service to the dissemination of the faith and constructed Jaina edifices.[1]

Though it is certain that the religion was in a flourishing state during this period, one is confronted with an extreme rarity of Jaina monuments and antiquities not only of this period but also of the earlier one in Bihar. Even at Vaiśālī (modern Basarh, District Vaishali), not a single Jaina monument of the early period has been identified so far, though the place was closely associated with Mahāvīra and was reported to have a *stūpa* dedicated to Munisuvrata.[2]

The earliest Jaina monument identified so far at Rājagṛha (modern Rajgir, District Nālandā) is a set of two rock-cut caves, the western one of which is known as Sonbhaṇḍār. On the basis of the palaeography of an inscription on the façade of this cave, which records the dedication of images of Arhats, the caves have generally been ascribed to the third or fourth century A.D.[3] However, as suggested by Saraswati,[4] the caves appear to be earlier than this

[1] *Ibid.* p. 89; U.P. Shah, *Studies in Jaina Art*, Banaras, 1955, p. 6.

[2] Shah, *op. cit.*, pp. 9 and 62.

[3] M.H. Kuraishi and A. Ghosh, *Rajgir*, New Delhi, 1958, p. 25.

[4] S.K. Saraswati in Majumdar and Pusalker, *op. cit.*, p. 503. [See below chapter 11 and plate 51A. It is difficult to separate chronologically the excavation of the caves from the carvings the early Gupta Jina bas-reliefs in the eastern cave and inscription of the same period on the outer wall of the western cave recording that Ācāryaratna Muni Vairadeva had the two caves, in which was the installation of the images of Arhats, made (excavated) for the attainment of *nirvāṇa*. It is conceivable that in this region where rock-cut monuments are rare any evolution of rock-architecture would be slow, if not virtually non-existent. This may explain the resemblance between the Sonbhaṇḍār caves on the one hand and the Mauryan ones at Barabar and Nagarjuni on the other, on which ground Saraswati assigns an early date to the former. To suit the theory of an early date of the caves, it has even been suggested that the inscription belongs to the first-second century A.D. (Hiralal Jain, *Bhāratīya Saṁskṛti men Jaina-Dharma kā Yoga-dāna*, Bhopal, 1962, pp. 308-09), but that is palaeographically not possible.—Editor.]

period. Fit for the residence of Jaina monks, the caves are spacious oblong chambers with an arched ceiling rising from an inconspicuous ledge, the latter projecting above the vertical walls. An early feature of the western cave is the sloping jambs of the door, the opening at the base being wider than that at the top—an irrational imitation of wooden constructions in live rock. This cave, which is larger than the eastern one, is provided with a small squarish window, also with plain sloping sides. There are traces of high polish on the walls. The existence of sockets show the prior existence of door-leaves.

The only early Jaina remains so far discovered at Pāṭaliputra (Patna) are from Lohanipur (Patna). The site yielded two nude stone torsos, the lower portion of a head, a mutilated arm or leg and the plinth of a brick structure (2·68 m. square), on the footing of which was found a worn-out silver punch-marked coin.[1] Unfortunately the discovery was not followed by planned excavation, with the result that we are left in the dark about the remains of one of the earliest Jaina establishments. The fragmentary head and one (plate 21A) of the two torsos, both of sandstone, bear the characteristic Mauryan polish. Evidently, they belonged to the Mauryan times. The head, which is too large for the torso, apparently belonged to another sculpture. The portion above the tip of the nose is not extant; to judge from the available portion, the face with firm lips was roundish. Though a large portion of the two arms of the polished torso is missing, the figure was apparently in *kāyotsarga*-pose with arms falling along the thighs, a presumption supported not only by the rendering of the extant upper part of the arms and the pose of the body but by the indications of fractures left on the thighs where the palms or wrists touched. The figure no doubt represents a Tīrthaṅkara. The modelling of the torso, which is in the round, is fairly naturalistic, bearing the imprint of a master hand. In sculptural qualities it is on a plane much superior to the other torso (plate 21B) of Lohanipur. The arms of the latter, which also are in *kāyotsarga*-pose, are disproportionately short. Rendered in the tradition of the primitive Yakṣa statues, this torso is probably not earlier than the first century B.C.

The accidental discovery of a hoard of eighteen Jaina bronzes at Chausa (District Bhojpur) opens before us the possibility of the find of early Jaina monuments at the place or in its neighbourhood. Unfortunately, here, too,

[1] K.P. Jayaswal, 'Jaina image of Maurya period', *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, XXIII, 1937, pp. 130-32; A. Banerji-Sastri, 'Mauryan sculptures from Lohanipur, Patna', *Ibid.*, XXVI, 1940, pp. 120-24.

the discovery has not been followed up by systematic survey and excavation. The hoard[1] includes sixteen images of the Tīrthaṅkaras, an *aśoka*-tree and a *dharma-cakra* (plate 21C) on a post, the last ascribable to the first century A.D.

Among the images of the Tīrthaṅkaras, ten are in *kāyotsarga*-pose, while six are seated in *dhyāna-mudrā*. The group is highly interesting on account of the fact that the images covering a period of nearly four hundred years record the artistic achievements of bronze-casters from the period of experimentation to the culmination in the well-modelled graceful figures of the Gupta period. While two of the seated images are stylistically ascribable to the post-Kushan to early Gupta period, the remaining four are of the Gupta period.[2]

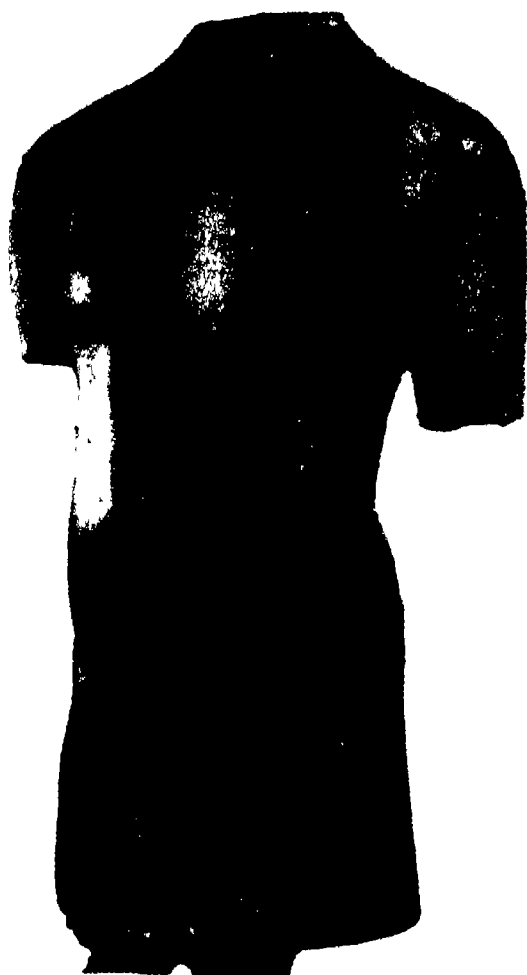
The standing images, all robeless, cover a wider period from the pre-Kushan to the Gupta period. Some of the figures, with stump-like legs, crude workmanship and disproportionate modelling, are in folk-tradition. These primitive figures appear to be somewhat earlier than Kushan. A good Kushan example is furnished by the Patna Museum 6530 (plate 22A). Characterized by a broad chest, roundish face and open eyes, it is in the tradition of Mathurā. Here, too, no attention has been paid to the modelling of legs. A considerable progress in the proportionate and graceful modelling of different limbs is noticeable in the images produced in the third-fourth century A.D. (plate 22B). *Lāñchanas* are depicted in none of the images, so that Ṛṣabhanātha and Pārśvanātha alone can be identified by the locks of hair and serpent-hoods respectively. In the well-preserved example, the *śrīvatsa*-mark is clear on the chest.

WEST BENGAL

It is not definitely known when Jainism firmly established itself in Bengal. From the *Ācārāṅga-sūtra* it is learnt that Mahāvīra received inhospitable treatment during his wanderings in Lāḍha (i.e. Rāḍha) consisting of Vajjabhūmi (Vajrabhūmi) and Subbhabhūmi (Suhmabhūmi).[3] From a legend recorded in the *Divyāvadāna* it is generally held that Puṇḍravardhana (in north Bengal) had

[1] *Patna Museum Catalogue of Antiquities*, ed. Parameshwari Lal Gupta, Patna, 1965, pp. 116 and 117; Hari Kishore Prasad, 'Jaina bronzes in the Patna Museum', *Shri Mahāvīra Jaina Vidyālaya Golden Jubilee Volume*, I, Bombay, 1968, pp. 275-83.

[[2] *See below, Chapter 11—Editor.]

[3] *Jaina Sūtras*, part I, *Ācārāṅga Sūtra*, trans. H. Jacobi, Sacred Books of the East, XXII, Oxford, 1884, pp. 84 and 85.

A. Lohanipur : torso of a Tīrthaṅkara

B. Lohanipur : torso of a Tīrthaṅkara

PLATE 21

A. Chausa : a bronze Tīrthaṅkara

B. Chausa : bronze Ṛṣabhanātha

C. Chausa : bronze *aśoka*-tree and *dharma-cakra*

PLATE 22

Udayagiri : Cave 9, exterior

Udayagiri : Cave 1, lower storey, worship of a cult-object

Udayagiri : Cave 1, exterior

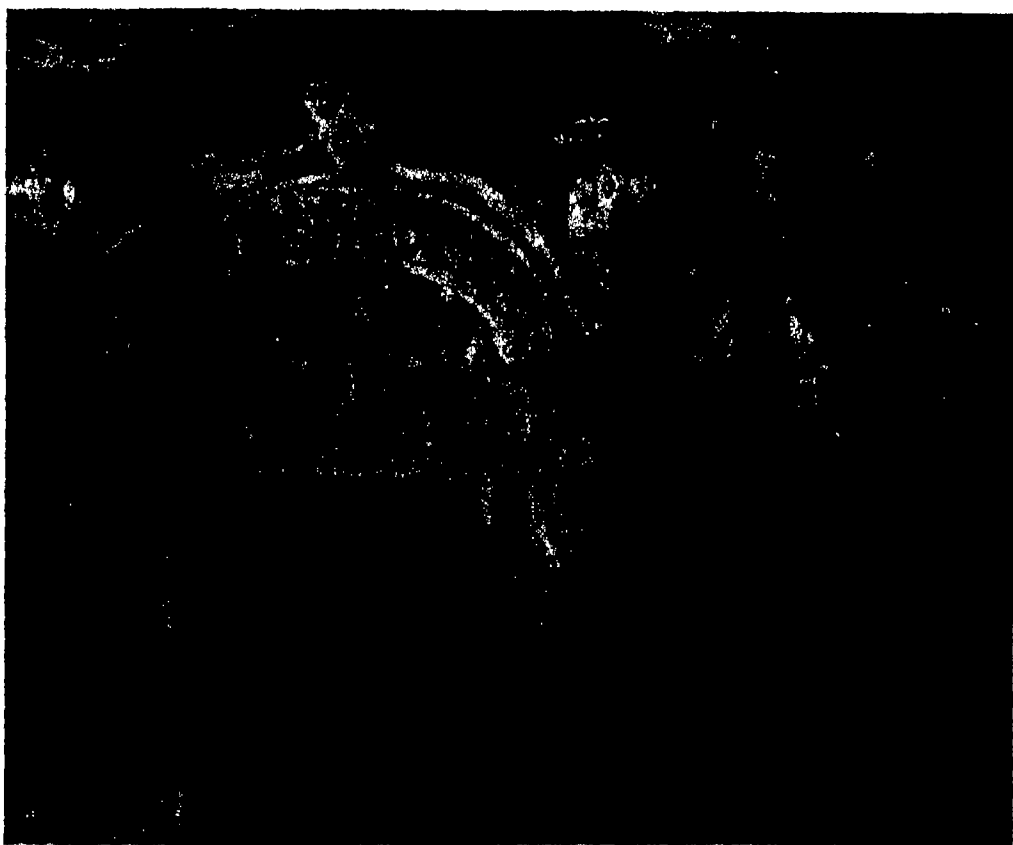
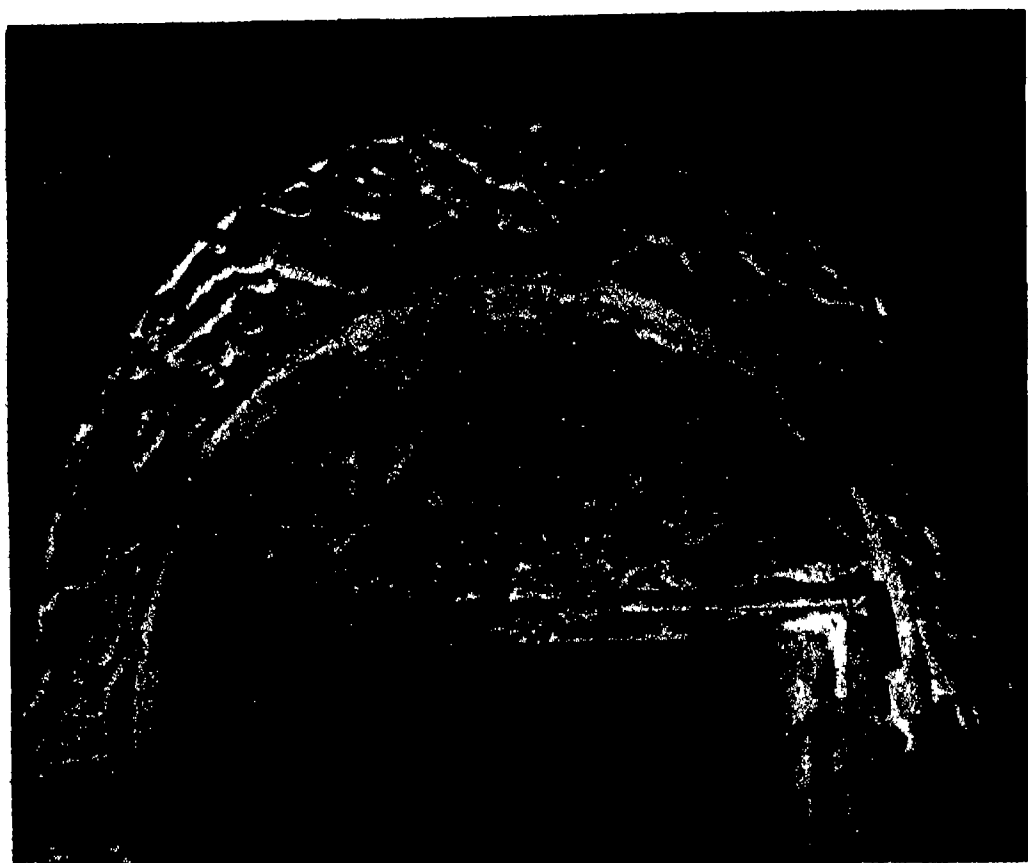
Khandagiri : Cave 3, exterior

Khandagiri : Cave 3, worship of tree on tympanum

PLATE 27

Khandagiri : Cave 3, Gaja-Lakṣmī on tympanum

PLATE 28

been a stronghold of Jainism and Ājīvika faith at the time of Aśoka.[1] According to this legend, Aśoka, on finding that a lay-follower of the Nirgrantha of Puṇḍravardhananagara (modern Mahāsthāngarh, District Bogra, Bangladesh) had drawn a picture showing Buddha at the feet of the Nirgrantha, caused a holocaust of eighteen thousand Ājīvikas of Puṇḍravardhana. That the religion was well-established in a large part of Bengal prior to the redaction of the *Kalpa-sūtra* is proved by the mention in this text of the Tāmraliptikā (known after Tāmralipti, modern Tamluk, District Midnapur), Koṭivarṣīyā (named after Koṭivarṣa, probably Bangarh in District West Dinajpur) and Puṇḍravardhanīyā *śākhās* of a *gaṇa* founded by Godāsa, a disciple of Bhadrabāhu,[2] who was a contemporary of Candragupta Maurya. Though the redaction of the text of the *Kalpa-sūtra* in its present form was not earlier than the fifth-sixth century A.D., it embodies a good amount of old traditions, as is proved by the Mathurā inscriptions of the first century A.D. and onwards. These inscriptions record the names of several *gaṇas* with their *kulas* and *śākhās* which are enumerated in the *Kalpa-sūtra*. An inscription of the year 62 (A.D. 140) found on the pedestal of a Jaina image from Mathurā mentions a Jina monk with the epithet *Rāraka*, which has been interpreted as a 'native of Rāra,'[3] equated with Rāḍha (western Bengal).[4]

Unfortunately, not a single Jina relic of the period has so far been located in Bengal. The earliest document with Jaina affiliation is the Paharpur (District Rajshahi, Bangladesh) copper-plate of the year 159 of the Gupta era,[5] recording the endowment of lands for the maintenance of the ceremonial worship of Arhats, with sandal-paste, incense, flowers, lamps, etc., by a Brāhmaṇa couple at the *vihāra* Vaṭa-Gohālī. As the *vihāra* is stated to have been presided over by the disciples and the disciples' disciples of the Nirgrantha-śramaṇācārya Guhanandin belonging to the Pañca-stūpa-*nikāya* of Kāśī, it is very likely that it existed at Paharpur even in the fourth century A.D. Whether the nucleus of the Jaina establishment went back earlier is not known.

ORISSA

From early times, Kaliṅga (comprising a large part of Orissa) was a stronghold of Jainism. Mahāvīra is stated to have visited this country. That

[1] *Divyāvadāna*, Buddhist Sanskrit Texts, Darbhanga, 1959, p. 277; R.C. Majumdar, 'Jainism in Ancient Bengal', *Shri Mahāvīra Jaina Vidyālaya Golden Jubilee Volume*, I, p. 135.

[2] Jacobi, *op. cit.*, p. 288.

[3] R.D. Bandyopadhyaya, 'Mathurā inscriptions in the Indian Museum', *Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, New Series, V, 1909, pp. 239-40.

[4] R.C. Majumdar, *op. cit.*, p. 136.

[5] *Epigraphia Indica*, XX, 1929-30, pp. 59-64.

the religion had a footing in Kaliṅga as early as the fourth century B.C. is proved by the Hāthi-gumphā (one of the caves of the Udayagiri hill near Bhubaneswar) inscription[1] of Khāravela (first century, according to a less probable view second century, B.C.), the third king of the Mahāmeghavāhana family of the Ceti dynasty of Kaliṅga. In this inscription, which preambles with an invocation of the Arhats and Siddhas, this powerful ruler claims to have brought back to Kaliṅga the Kaliṅga-Jina which had earlier been wrested away by a Nanda king. It is not unlikely that this sacred Kaliṅga-Jina had originally been installed on the Udayagiri hill itself and also was, after its recovery, reinstalled there by Khāravela. This low hill, along with the abutting hill of Khandagiri, was a Jaina centre from a very early period. The prime considerations for the selection of this twin hill for the site of the Jaina establishment were, evidently, their secluded situation ensuring a proper atmosphere for meditation and monastic life and proximity to the populous capital (identified with Sisupalgarh, 10 km. south-east of the hills) of Kaliṅga, where the monks could easily go on their missionary rounds and from where the devotees might come to pay homage to the ascetics and perform worship at the sanctuary.

The Jaina establishment on the Udayagiri and Khandagiri hills[2] flourished tremendously during the rule of Mahāmeghavāhanas. From the Hāthī-gumphā inscription it is evident that Khāravela, who professed Jainism, championed the cause of the faith with great zeal. In the thirteenth year of his rule, he not only excavated caves for the Jaina ascetics in the Kumārī-parvata (present Udayagiri) but erected on the *prāgbhāra* of the hill, close to the monastic retreats, a costly structure (presumably a shrine) with stones collected from distant quarries and a pillar having cat's-eye gem in its core. Though there are no doubt a good number of monastic caves of the period of Khāravela, due to the lack of inscriptional evidence it is not possible to identify the particular caves excavated at the instance of this king. Other members of the royal family also took active part in the pious donations of caves. Thus, from the dedicatory inscription on the façade of the upper storey (locally called

[1] Edited and commented upon by many scholars, including Dines Chandra Sircar, *Select Inscriptions bearing on Indian History and Civilization*, I, Calcutta, 1965, pp. 213-21.

[2] For the Udayagiri-Khandagiri caves, see James Fergusson and James Burgess, *The Cave Temples of India*, London, 1880, pp. 55-94; Rajendralala Mitra, *Antiquities of Orissa*, II, Calcutta, 1880, pp. 1-46; James Fergusson, *A History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, London, 1910, pp. 9-18; Debala Mitra, *Udayagiri and Khandagiri*, New Delhi, 1960.

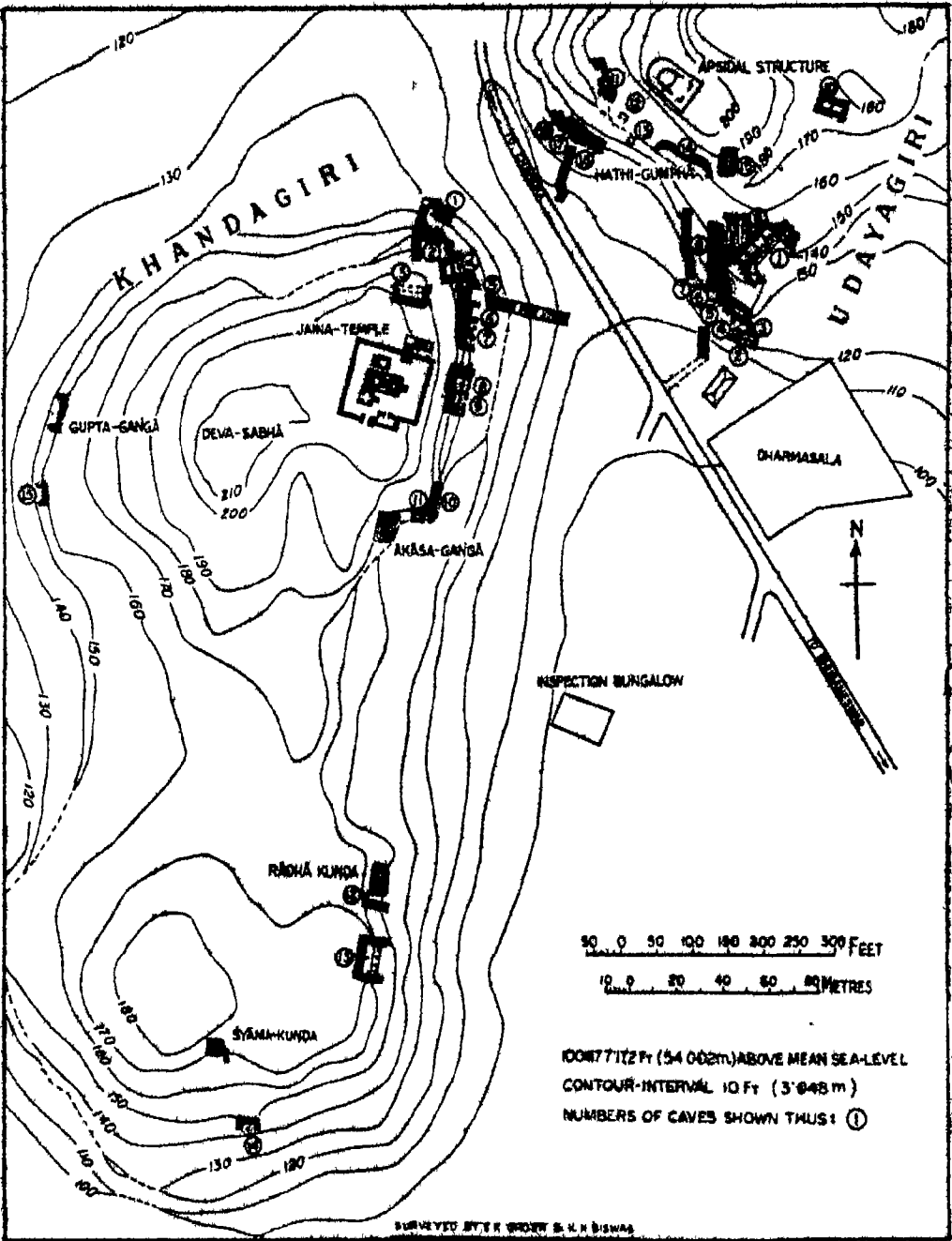



Fig. III. Udayagiri and Khandagiri : layout of the caves

Svargapurī) of Cave 9 (plates 23 and 24) of the Udayagiri hill, it is known that this storey owed its origin to the piety of the chief queen of Khāravela. Again, two of the cells of the ground floor (locally called Mañcapurī) of this cave were dedicated by *Mahārāja Kūdepa (or Vakradeva)* and Kumāra (prince) Vaḍukha (Uvaḍukha). Kūdepa appears to have been a successor of Khāravela as the excavation of caves generally started from the top, the upper floor with the dedicatory inscription of Khāravela's queen appearing to be earlier than the ground floor.

While most of the caves were excavated during the régime of the Mahāmeghavāhanas (first centuries B.C. and A.D.), some might have had an earlier origin. Not a single cave of this period was meant to be a shrine, all of them having been designed as the dwelling-retreats (*vihāras*) of the Jaina recluses. That the cells were planned as dormitories is proved by the sloping rise of the floor at the rear end, extending from one side-wall to the other, to serve the purpose of a running pillow. In much later periods some of these dwelling-cells were converted into shrines with minor alterations and additions of the reliefs of the Tīrthaṅkaras.

Not planned with a systematic layout (fig. III), the monastic retreats were excavated at different heights. The excavators saved both labour and expense by following the configuration of the rock and connecting different units by rock-cut steps wherever necessary. A predilection was towards excavation near the top of the ledge or boulder, probably to relieve the load over the caves, the sandstone of the hill being of a brittle variety.

Meant for the residence of Jaina ascetics, who were noted for their self-mortification, the caves provided little amenities. The height of most of the caves, including the exceptionally large Rāṇī-gumphā (Cave 1, plate 25) of the Udayagiri hill is too low for a person to stand erect. The remaining ones are only slightly more than the height of a man. Some of the caves are too narrow for a person even to stretch. The door-openings are invariably small, and one has almost to crawl to enter the cells through them. The cells were not provided with niches. The only places where scriptures and articles of bare necessity could be kept are the rock-cut shelves across the side-walls of the verandah. The interior of the cells is austerely plain, but in important instances their façades and the brackets supporting the ceilings of the verandahs are decorated with carvings and sculptures (plate 33).

A fully-developed monastery presents one or more cells preceded by a common verandah, the latter having a levelled ground for the courtyard in

some cases like Caves 1 (Rāṇī-gumphā, plate 25), 9 (Mañcapurī and Svargapurī, plate 23) and 10 (Gaṇeśa-gumphā) of the Udayagiri hill and Cave 3 (Ananta-gumphā, plates 26 and 27) of the Khandagiri hill. The cells are arrayed on one, two or even three sides of the verandah, the first layout being the commonest. What distinguishes the Rāṇī-gumphā is the provision of two small wings of cells fronted by a verandah, at right angles to the main wing, and two small guard-rooms on the ground-floor. The upper storey generally is not perched directly on the lower but recedes back, this arrangement being either to lessen the load or to follow the configuration of the slope of the rock or even to both. The open space in front of the Svargapurī is edged by a rock-cut railing (plate 23), which gives it the appearance of a balcony.

Notwithstanding their being the work of rock-cutters and sculptors and not of masons and engineers required in a true piece of architecture, these rock-cut caves, by their emulating structures of timber, bamboo and thatch, have important place in the history of Jaina architecture. Their importance is further increased by the paucity of extant Jaina buildings of this period. The excavators attempted to copy in live rock structural houses with which they were familiar, with the result that the features peculiar to wooden, tiled and thatched houses were reproduced even if they are irrational and unnecessary for stability. Thus, the ceilings of the cells are in some cases arched and convex like that of a hut; the ceilings of the verandahs supported on brackets and architraves perched on pillars, as in a hut with bamboo and wooden posts, are mostly lower than those of the cells; the floors of the verandahs are at a level lower than those of the cells; the roofs of the verandahs project outward in the form of eaves, the inner sides of the latter being curved as in thatched or wooden huts to break the flow of rain-water; the door-jambs incline inwards making the opening slightly wider at the base than at the top, which is inappropriate in masonry or rock.

The cells are adequately lighted, not only through their opening directly into the verandah or even in the open but also by the profusion of doors, the number of which varies from one to four depending on the size of the cells. In some rare instances there are windows as well. The doors have grooves, cut all around their outer frames, probably to receive movable wooden shutters. Additional holes for hinges, one each at the threshold and the lintel, in a few cases, suggest a single door-leaf. That the walls of the caves were at one time plastered is indicated by patches of shell-lime lingering at places.

The caves can be grouped into two broad categories—one plain without a pillared verandah and the other with a regular pillared verandah. Whether

this division has any chronological significance or not cannot be determined, though, on general grounds, some caves of the first category appear to have been earlier than the latter. The former are small, mostly open in front and without any architectural pretension. In a few cases, as in Cave 12 (Bāgh-gumphā) of the Udayagiri hill, the roof of the cell projects forward to form a verandah. In most of the caves, which are absolutely open in front, a horizontal chase is seen on the façade. Whether it is meant to divert the rain-water outside the cells or to receive an wooden adjunct is not known. The date of these particular caves is difficult to determine in the absence of inscriptions in them.

The interval of time between the excavations of individual caves of the second category would not appear to be considerable if we examine their architectural features. Architecturally, these caves form practically one homogenous group, without evincing any appreciable process of development. They are all characterized by a benched verandah; their pillars are of a uniform pattern, square below and above and octagonal in the middle, the corners of the squares chamfered with the resultant formation of semicircles at the points of transition (plate 23); they have a similar arrangement of the decoration of the façade of the cells with pilasters, semicircular arches, railings (plate 31) and sometimes mouldings simulating the barrel-vaulted roofs of structures. None of them bespeaks any different architectonic tradition. On the basis of their architectural features and the palaeography of the inscriptions they bear, they are assignable to the first century B.C. with a probable extension into the next century.

As already noted (above, p. 76), all the rock-cut caves of the period were meant for the habitation of the Jaina recluses, none being designed as a shrine. Evidently the place of worship on the hills was a structural one. Fortunately a small digging[1] by the author of the uneven, sloping and narrow top of the Udayagiri hill, immediately above the brow of the rock bearing the inscription of Khāravela, yielded the lower portion of a large apsidal structure (fig. IV; plate 34), which, no doubt, provided the place of worship.

As excavated, the outer wall of this structure, 23·77 m. in axial length and 14·62 m. in basal width, was made of laterite slabs, the maximum available courses being eight. Within the structure, towards its apse-end was a circular wall, of which only one course of laterite slabs was extant. A large part of the space within the apsidal structure was flagged with laterite slabs, with a

[1] *Indian Archaeology 1958-59—a Review*, ed. A. Ghosh, New Delhi, 1959, pp. 38-40.

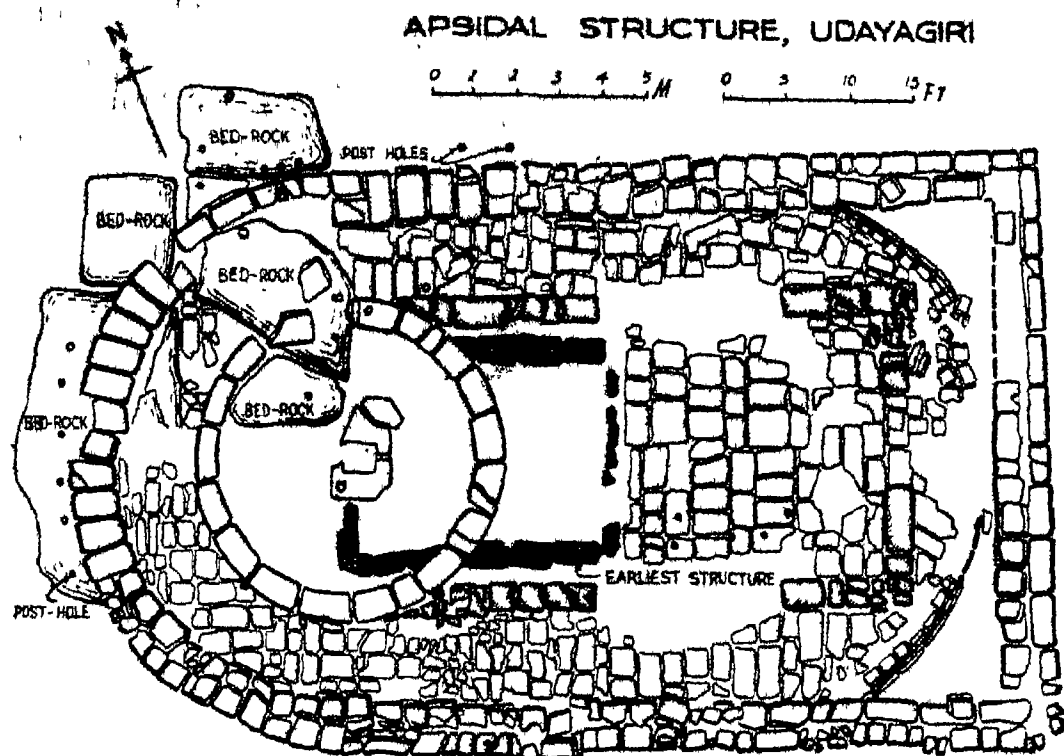



FIG. IV. Udayagiri : apsidal structure on the top of the hill

filling of lateritic soil underneath; towards the northern end where the sandstone bed-rock rose higher, the rock itself was roughly dressed in a level with the paved surface. From this, it appears that the flagged surface was not intended as the floor which was probably laid slightly higher up so as to cover both the bed-rock and flag-stones. The last were presumably laid with the object of securing a firm level ground above the filling in the depressions of the hill-top.

The outer edges of some of the stones of the circular wall rested on this paving, which, however, was not traceable within the circular wall. The oblong space in front of the circular wall was enclosed by walls, raised on the paved surface within the framework of the apsidal structure, to form a chamber. While the walls of three sides of this chamber ran parallel to the walls of the apsidal structure, a portion of the wall of the circular structure itself formed the back wall of this chamber, there being no other wall on this particular side. The ends of the side-walls of this chamber, with their bevelled edges, joined the circular wall so coherently that the outer plan of the two together became apsidal, the interior plan being analogous to that of the Sudāmā Cave of the Barābar hills (Bihar) and the *caitya-gṛha* at Kondivṭe (Maharashtra). The

lack of proper bonding of the walls of the two at first led the author to think that the oblong chamber, the walls of which abut the circular wall, was later than the circular wall. However, on the analogy of several temples of Bhubaneswar where the walls of the porch abut the front wall of the sanctum without a proper bonding, it is now felt that both the chamber and the circular wall were contemporaneous. In the middle of the three walls of the oblong chamber was an opening, presumably for doors.

As the circular wall had been reduced to a single course when excavated, it is difficult to determine its exact nature and use. However, the plan of the entire complex is so similar to the Buddhist *caitya-gṛhas* with their apse, nave and side-aisles that it is very likely that the circular wall formed the sanctum of the apse and the oblong chamber the hall or nave. On the same analogy the space between their outer wall and the inner edge of the outer apsidal wall could have been used as circumambulatory side-aisles.

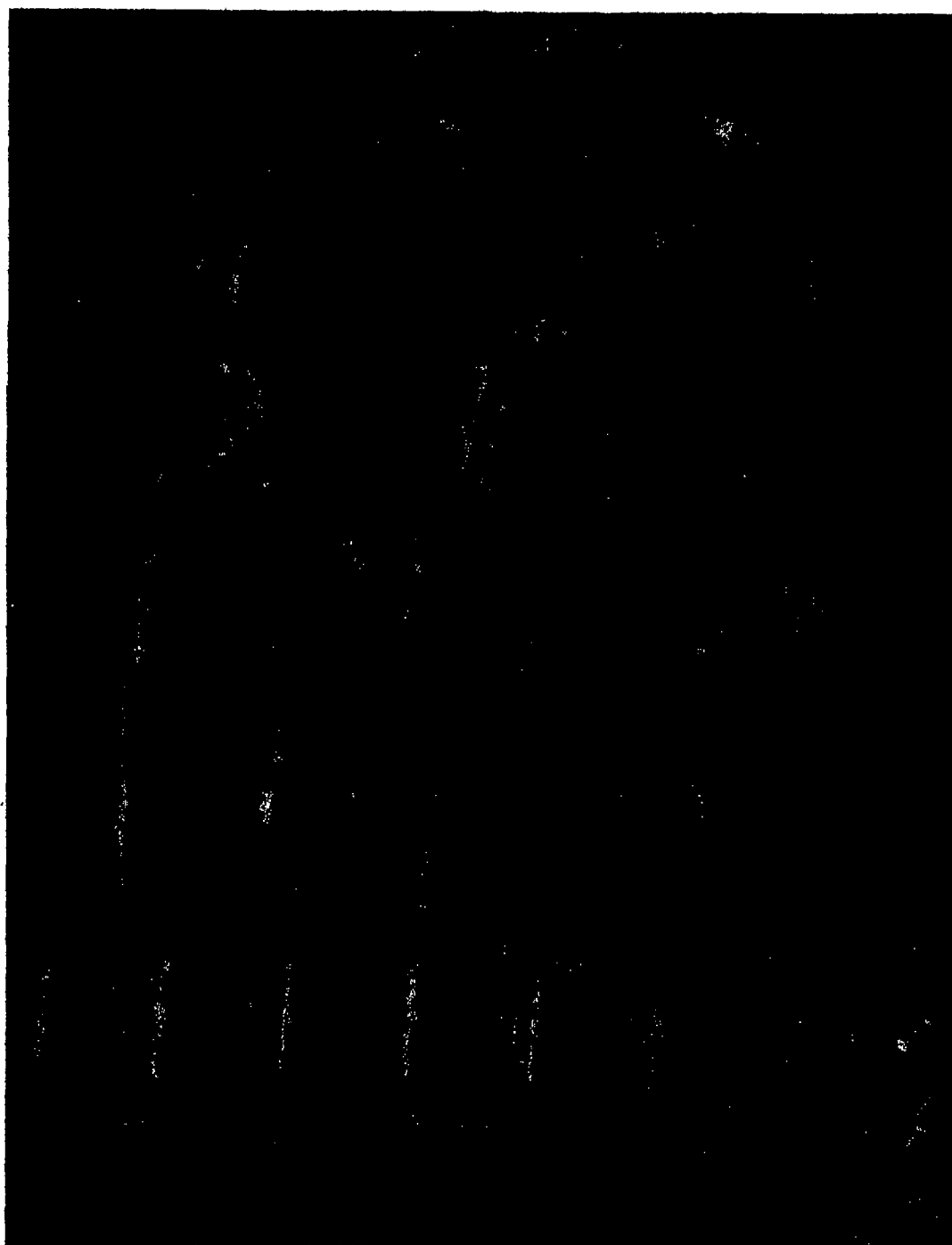
The two arc-like buttress-walls of laterite blocks placed on edge in somewhat receding courses, that could be seen near the base within the framework of the apsidal structure, were presumably erected to sustain the deep depression filling and its overlying flag-stones below the two front corner-walls of the oblong hall, so that the walls of the latter might not sag.

It is not unlikely that there was a barred railing around the structure, for amidst the débris adjoining the terrace in front of the Hāthī-gumphā were found a few fragments of carved sandstone railings.

A rough idea of the elevation of the apsidal structure may be had from the upper part of a relief (plate 29) on the façade of the ground-floor of Rāṇī-gumphā.

There were several holes at fairly regular intervals in the bed-rock around the outer wall of the apsidal structure. Evidently they held posts. Whether the posts were short to form part of a railing or long to support an architrave (from the top of which projected the eaves) is not known.

In the northern corner of the apsidal structure was a drain cut into the bed-rock and covered with laterite slabs flush with the paving for channelling out water outside.

Partly below the circular structure, and seemingly unconnected with it, was a small oblong chamber, of which one course of laterite slabs is available. It seems to have been the first structure on the site.

Udayagiri : Cave 1, lower storey, main wing, relief of a double-storeyed structure

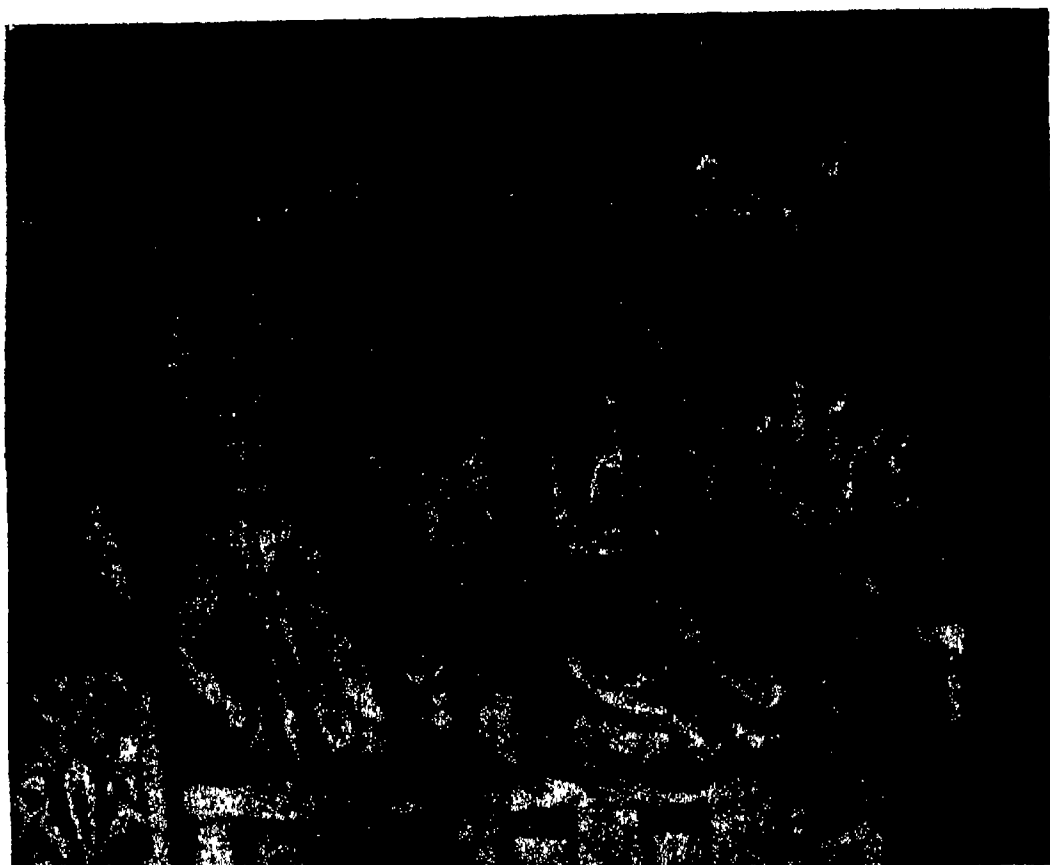



PLATE 29

Udayagiri : Cave 1, lower storey, right wing, a *danseuse* amidst musicians on back wall of verandah

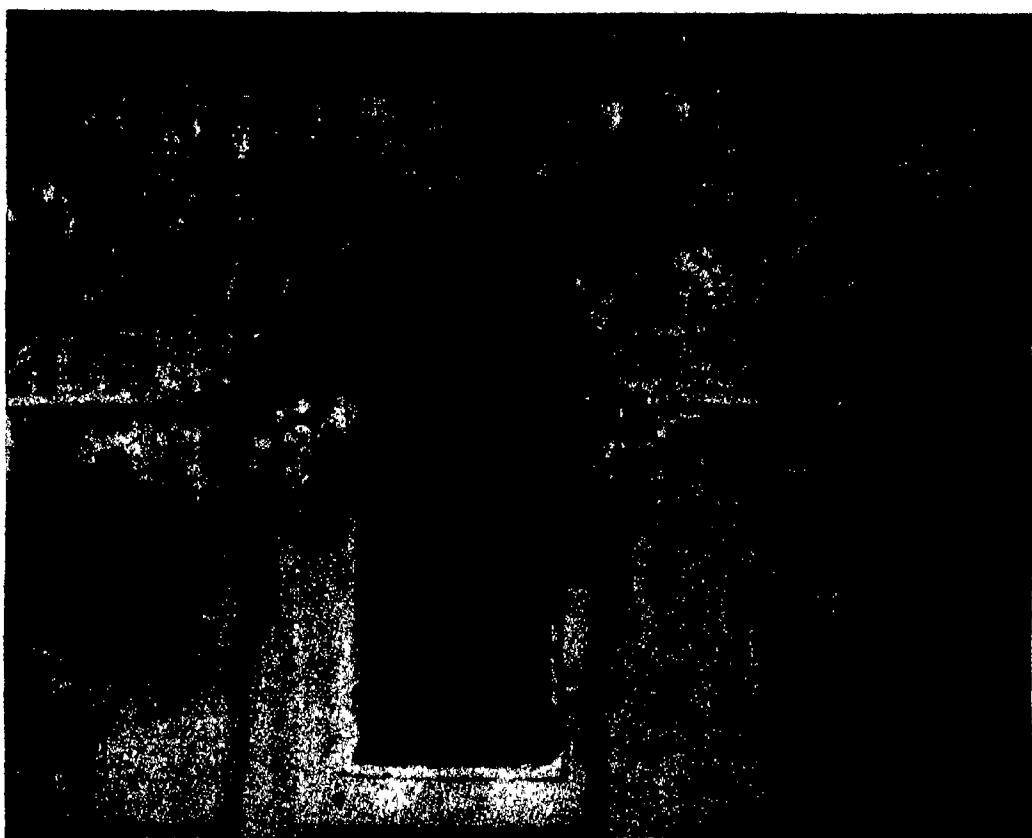
PLATE 30

Udayagiri : Cave 1, lower storey, right wing, frieze on back wall of verandah

PLATE 31

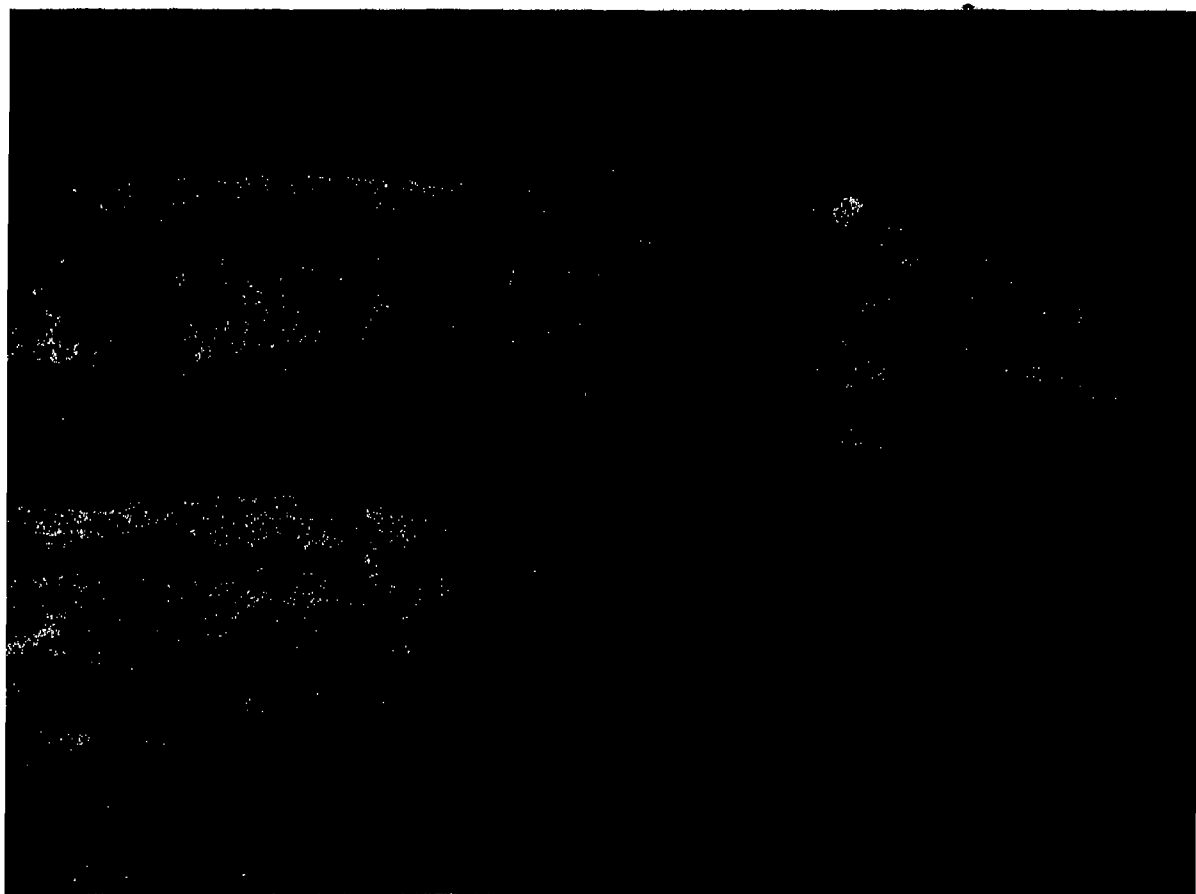
A. Udayagiri : Cave 1, upper storey, main wing, frieze on back wall of verandah

B. Udayagiri : Cave 1, upper storey, main wing, frieze on back wall of verandah

PLATE 32

A. Udayagiri: Cave 1, upper storey, main wing, frieze on back wall of verandah

B. Udayagiri : Cave 10, frieze on back wall of verandah

Udayagiri · apsidal shrine on hill-top

PLATE 34

Udayagiri : ramp supported by retaining-wall

A. Udayagiri : Yakṣī

B. Udayagiri : Yakṣī, back view

PLATE 36

In the absence of definite evidence, it is difficult to determine whether the object enshrined in the circular sanctum was a *stūpa*, an auspicious symbol or the image of a Tīrthaṅkara. The third alternative does not recommend itself in view of the total absence of the figures of Tīrthaṅkaras in the original reliefs on the caves. On the other hand, we find the worship of the sacred tree (plate 27) depicted on the façades of Cave 3 (Ananta-gumphā) of the Khandagiri hill and Cave 5 (Jayā-Vijayā-gumphā) of the Udayagiri hill. Again, on the back wall of Cave 3 of the Khandagiri hill is carved a *nandipada* on a pedestal flanked on either side by three symbols—a triangle-headed one, *śrīvatsa* and *svastika*—all of which are found on the *āyāga-paṭas* of Mathurā. The cult-object (plate 24) in worship by a royal family depicted on the façade of Cave 9 (Mañcapurī) of Udayagiri is not certainly an image of a Tīrthaṅkara, though it cannot be correctly identified on account of defacement. Over the defaced object (somewhat cylindrical in form), which rests on a high, possibly circular, platform, is perhaps an umbrella.

In the light of these facts and also in view of the circular plan of the sanctum, the object of worship within might have been either a *stūpa* or a sacred emblem on a circular pedestal. A noteworthy feature, though inexplicable for want of evidence, was a fragment of coarse rock, roughly in the centre of the circular structure, with a squarish scooping with chisel-marks on it. Whether the socket originally contained relics, the base of the post of an umbrella or the tenon of the sacred emblem is now a matter of mere conjecture.

That the object in the circular structure was of high sanctity and attracted pilgrims is proved by the arrangement in front of the Hāthī-gumphā. As already noted, the top of Udayagiri is narrow. In fact, the apsidal structure practically covers the entire top of this particular portion of the hill, the vacant space not being extensive enough to accommodate any large assemblage. To make necessary accommodation for the occasional gathering, an artificial terrace was raised in front of the Hāthi-gumphā with the necessary filling retained by walls running towards Cave 9 and Cave 17. Approach to this terrace was provided by laying an imposing ramp (plate 35) rising gradually from the foot of the hill and reaching the terrace. Supported on either side by retaining-walls and flagged with laterite slabs, the ramp was wide enough to allow easy passage even to a chariot.

The débris edging the retaining-walls of the terrace near the steps giving access to Cave 17 yielded a few fragments of carved railings and the upper part of a female figure (plate 36) sculptured in the round, all of sandstone and of the first century B.C.

The apsidal structure is singular on account of its plan which has not so far been noticed in the later temples of Orissa. The plan itself points to its early origin. However, the date of the structure is uncertain but can be guessed from circumstantial evidence. As has been stated above, it is perched on the hill-top, immediately below which, on the brow of a cave (Hāthī-gumphā, Cave 14), is the famous inscription of Khāravela, wherein, among other things, he recounts his activities, including excavation of caves and erection of a certain stone edifice and pillar on the Kumārī hill (present Udayagiri). Architecturally, the Hāthi-gumphā itself is insignificant, being, in fact, only a large natural cavern of irregular shape, enlarged by human hands for some sort of shelter, as shown by chiselling and finishing at the back of side-walls, for occasional assemblages. On the walls are scratched a few names, possibly of pilgrims, some in Gupta characters. The presence of the important record of the mighty ruler on the brow of such an unimportant cave would be fully explained on the assumption that Khāravela himself was responsible for the erection of the apsidal shrine above it.

As already noted, the interiors of the cave are austerely plain. However, the façades of the cells, in several caves, are richly decorated with pilasters with animal-capitals supporting carved arches (plate 31) above door-openings, the arches being often connected together by railings (plates 24 and 31) supported by carved and sculptured brackets (plates 32 and 33). The spaces above the railings in some caves contain luxuriant reliefs (plates 24, 30 and 33B) depicting scenes, both religious and secular. Some of the friezes have narrative themes (plates 32B and 33B). The tympana below the arches in a few caves, like the Ananta-gumphā, also bear reliefs (plates 27 and 28). There are again carved and sculptured brackets, which, rising from the pillars, support the ceilings of the verandahs. Some of the pilasters of the verandahs have against them large-sized figures, mostly *dvāra-pālas*, in fairly high relief. The façades of the two guard-rooms of the Rāṇī-gumphā which received the most exuberant treatment in carvings and sculptured friezes and panels, are also richly carved.

Almost all the decorative patterns used in embellishments are found at Bharhut and Sanchi, pointing thereby to one common tradition. This, coupled with the use of some west-Asian motifs like the honeysuckle, merlon and winged animal, which had a wide distribution over a large part of India in this period, precludes the possibility of an independent and isolated development of the art-motifs and tradition. In the patterns themselves also there is hardly

anything which is specifically Jaina, for the same motifs are used both by the Buddhists and followers of the Brāhmaṇical faiths.

Although conforming to the common denominator of the art-tradition of Madhyadeśa, the sculptured friezes have a distinct place of their own in early Indian art. The facial features of many of the figures have a provincial look. The workmanship of the reliefs is by no means uniform, but taken as a whole, the execution displays a decided advance on the work of Bharhut.

The lower storey of the main wing of Cave 1 (Rāṇī-gumphā) has a running frieze which appears to depict the victorious march of a *dig-vijayin* king, starting from his capital, where people gaze at his departure from their houses and his return to the capital after passing through many lands. It is tempting to think that the exploits of Khāravela inspired the theme of this long frieze.[1]

The friezes (plates 32A and 33A) on the façade of the main wing of the upper storey of Cave 1 compare favourably with the reliefs of the gateways of Sanchi and have practically nothing that would savour of the archaic traits of Bharhut, like frontality, lack of perspective, rudimentary plastic conception, etc. The reliefs display the artist's appreciable mastery over forms and skill in depicting figures in varied positions-front, back and side. The faces are rendered in full or in three-quarters and half profiles. The poses of the figures are fairly easy and natural, their movement elastic and emotions tolerably well-expressed. The composition is also fairly coherent and effective; the different figures bear relationship with one another. The reliefs are also mature in depth, displaying a considerable plasticity of form and naturalistic modelling. Slender figures of men and women are marked by a suavity of outline.

The reliefs on the other caves and even those of the lower storey of Cave 1, to a certain extent, are not of this standard. They are relatively crude and

[1] Mitra, *op. cit.*, pp. 20-22. According to one scholar, the scenes from this frieze would represent Pārśvanātha's wanderings as a Tīrthaṅkara and the honours shown to him. According to the same scholar again, the friezes on the upper storey of Cave 1 and on the front wall of Cave 10 (Gaṇeśa-gumphā) also represent scenes from the life of Pārśvanātha including his rescue of Prabhāvatī and his subsequent marriage with her (L.S.S.O. Malley, *Bengal District Gazetteers—Puri*, Calcutta, 1908, pp. 256-and 259). However, V.S. Agrawala is inclined to identify two of these scenes with episodes from the tales of Duṣyanta-Śankuntalā and Udayana-Vāsavadattā ('Vāsavadattā and Sakuntalā scenes in the Rāṇīgumphā cave in Orissa', *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, XIV, 1946, pp. 102-09).

inferior in plastic treatment and vivacity. The figures are less elastic, modelling coarse and grouping less coherent. The inequality in artistic attainments becomes palpable when one compares the abduction-scene (plate 33B) in Cave 10 (Gaṇeśa-gumphā) with that (plate 33A) of the upper storey of Cave 1 (Rāṇī-gumphā). The difference may be due to the varied skill of the artists or the interval of time which enabled the artists, improving through experience, to attain mastery in sculptural qualities and compositions, though the interval could not have been appreciable.

DEBALA MITRA

CHAPTER 8

WEST INDIA

MEDIEVAL JAINA TRADITIONS SPEAK OF MAHĀVĪRA'S VISIT TO WEST INDIA, especially Bhinmal (Bhillamāla) in south-west Rajasthan or Marwar and Muṇḍasthala (modern Mungthala) near Mount Abu. An inscription dated V.S. 1334 (A.D. 1277), recording the consecration of the Mahāvīra temple at Bhinmal by Pūrṇacandra Sūri, says that Mahāvīra had visited Bhillamāla.[1] A later inscription, of V.S. 1426 (A.D. 1369), from the Jaina temple at Mungthala also says that Mahāvīra had visited that place.[2] But Mahāvīra's itinerary seems to have been limited to east India only. He had been to Lāḍha (Rāḍha) in the east where he suffered great hardships at the hands of local primitive population.

Mauryan rule extended westward at least up to Bairat in Rajasthan, Girnar in Gujarat and Sopara in the Deccan as evidenced by Aśoka's edicts at these places, and it is very likely that his grandson Samprati, whose patronage to Jainism is well-attested by early texts like the *Bṛhat-Kalpa-Bhāṣya* and the *Niśītha-Cūrṇi*,[3] did continue to exercise control over these parts. But no relic of Jaina art which can be definitely assigned to the Mauryan or Śuṅga period has been discovered from these regions.

A fragmentary inscription discovered at Barli, Ajmer District, was read as referring to the year 84 after Vīra and to Majhamikā (Madhyamikā), modern Nagari near Chitorgarh.[4] D.C. Sircar has, however, shown that the reading *Vīrāt 84* is not tenable,[5] and hence the Jaina association of this inscription is now discarded.

[1] *Progress Report, Archaeological Survey of India, Western Circle, 1907-08* p. 35.

[2] Munirāja Śrī-Jayantavijaya, *Arbudācala Pradakṣiṇā Jaina-lekha-sandoha*, Bhavnagar, 1947, V, inscription 48.

[3] *Bṛhat-Kalpa-Bhāṣya*, III, *gāthās* 3277-3289, pp. 917-21; *Niśītha-Cūrṇi*,, section 5, *gāthā* 2154, and *Cūrṇi*, p. 362: *Sthavirāvalī-caritra* or *Pariśiṣṭaparvan* of Hemacandra, XI, 55-110.

[4] R.R. Halder in *Indian Antiquary*, LVIII, 1921, p. 229; G.H. Ojha, *Bhāratīya Prācīna Lipimālā*, Ajmer, 1918, pp. 2-3; K.P. Jayaswal in *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, XVI, 1930, pp. 67-68.

[5] D.C. Sircar, 'Barli fragmentary stone inscription', *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, XXXVII, 1951, pp. 34-38.

The *Vasudeva-hiṇḍī*, an early text of the fourth-fifth century A.D., speaks of a Jīvantasvāmin (life-time image of Mahāvīra) at Ujjain.[1] The *Bṛhat-Kalpa-Bhāṣya* (*circa* sixth century) also refers to it, and the *Ṭīkā* on this work gives a fuller account of the conversion of Samprati to Jainism by Ārya Suhastin during the *ratha-yātrā* festival (of this image) at Ujjain.[2]

The *Āvaśyaka-Cūrṇi* of Jinadāsa (seventh century) gives an account of the queen of Uddāyaṇa of Vītabhayapattana, in Sindhu-Sauvīra, as worshipping a Jīvantasvāmin sandalwood portrait of Mahāvīra, which was later carried off by Pradyota of Avanti and ultimately continued in worship at Vidiśā.[3] But we have no other evidence of Jina worship in Maurya or Śuṅga period in territories west of Avanti-Malwa region.

The first portrait-sculpture of Mahāvīra, made of sandalwood, was thus worshipped by the queen of king Uddāyaṇa of Vītabhayapattana. This was carried away by Pradyota of Avanti and installed for worship later at Vidiśā. But Pradyota took away the original only after depositing a copy of it in Vītabhayapattana. A further interesting account of these statues is given by the great scholiast and monk Hemacandrācārya in his *Triṣaṣṭi-śalākā-puruṣa-carita,* which shows that the original image of Vidiśā later came to be worshipped as Bhaillasvāmin,[4] while the copy at Vītabhayapattana was buried in a sandstorm along with the city itself. Uddāyaṇa had installed it in a temple and donated gifts for its worship by issuing royal charters.[5] According to Hemacandra, Kumārapāla, the Caulukyan king whose rule extended up to Sind in the west, Jalor and parts of Rajasthan in the north and over almost the whole of modern Gujarat, sent special officers to the site of the capital of Sauvīrā, and they dug out the wooden statue along with the charter issued by

[1] *Vasudeva-hiṇḍī*, ed. Muni Chaturvijaya and Puṇyavijaya, Bhavnagar, 1930, *khaṇḍa* I, part I, p. 61. The image at Ujjain is also referred to in the *Āvaśyaka-Cūrṇi* of Jinadāsa, Ratlam, 1923, II, p. 157. For the Jīvantasvāmin image, see U.P. Shah, 'A unique Jaina image of Jīvanta-svāmi', *Journal of the Oriental Institute*, I, 1951-52, pp. 72-79, and 'Sidelights on the life-time sandalwood image of Mahāvīra', *ibid.*, pp. 358-68.

[2] *Bṛhat-Kalpa-Bhāṣya*, III, *gāthā* 3277, pp. 917 ff. The *Kalpa-Cūrṇi*, still in MSS. (earlier than the *Ṭīkā* on *Bṛhat-Kalpa-Bhāṣya*), also describes this, see quotation in Muni Kalyāṇavijaya, 'Vīra-nirvāṇa-saṁvat aur Jaina kālagaṇanā', *Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Patrikā* (Hindi journal), Benaras, X, 1930.

[3] *Āvaśyaka-Cūrṇi*, I, pp. 397-401, commenting on *Āv.-Niryukti*, *gāthā* 774. Also see *Āv.-Vṛtti* of Haribhadra, Surat, 1916, I, part 2, pp. 296-300; *Āv.-Niryukti*, I, pp. 156 f.; Jagdish Chandra Jain, *Life as Depicted in the Jaina Canons*, Bombay, 1947, p. 349; Shah, *op. cit.*

[4] *Triṣaṣṭi-śalākā-puruṣa-carita*, *parvan* 10, *sarga* 11, especially verses 604 ff.

[5] *Ibid.*, *sarga* 11, verses 623 ff.

Uddāyaṇa. Hemacandra further says that these were brought to Patan and the image was installed in a new shrine by Kumārapāla,[1] whose leanings towards and patronage of Jainism are well-known.

If this contemporary account is true, and it is difficult to believe that a person of the stature of Hemacandra would have cared to fabricate it or narrate from hearsay, then we have to admit that even during the life-time of Mahāvīra Jaina art and Jina worship had spread not only in Malwa-Avanti region but also westward as far as Sindhu-Sauvīra. According to the Jaina canonical text *Bhagavatī-sūtra*, 13, 6, 191, Mahāvīra had gone to Vītabhayapattana to ordain king Uddāyaṇa who wanted to pay a visit to Mahāvīra.[2]

A very old bronze of Pārśvanātha standing in the *kāyotsarga*-pose, with the right hand and a part of the snake-hoods overhead mutilated, exists in the collections of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay (plate 36A).[3] Its pedestal is missing, and unfortunately there is no record of its original findspot. It bears close affinity in style with a terracotta figurine from Mohenjo-daro.[4] The limbs are long and slim and can also be compared with those of the Mohenjo-daro dancing girl.[5] The modelling of the torso, especially of the belly and abdomen, closely allied to the highly-polished torso of a Jina image from Lohanipur, now in the Patna Museum (above, chapter 7; plate 21A), and the Harappa red stone torso. Thus the bronze is modelled in the Indus style which seems to have continued down to the Mauryan age. The physiognomy is peculiar, also comparable with that of the Mohenjo-daro bronze dancing girl and a few Mauryan and early Śuṅga mother-goddess terracottas from Mathurā, Hathras and other sites. It is difficult to assign a correct age or provenance to the bronze in the absence of any record, but the stylistic comparisons cited here clearly show that it cannot be later than *circa* 100 B.C. and may be even earlier.

[1] *Ibid.*, *parva* 10, *sarga* 12, verses 36-93.

[2] Jain, *op. cit.*, p. 309; *Bṛhat-Kalpa-Bhāṣya*, II, p. 314, and IV, pp. 1073 f.; *Bhāṣya*, *gāthās* 912-13.

[3] U.P. Shah, 'An early bronze of Pārśvanātha', *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum*, Bombay, 3, 1952-53, pp. 63-65 and plates.

[4] John Marshall, *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization*, London, 1931, III, pl. XCV, 26 and 27; Mackay, *Further Excavation at Mohenjo-daro*, New Delhi, 1938, II, pl. LXXXII, 6, 10, 11 and pl. LXXV, 1, 21.

[5] Marshall, *op. cit.*, pl. XCIV, 6-8. For some terracottas comparable with this bronze, see D.H. Gordon, 'Early terracottas', *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, XI, 1943.

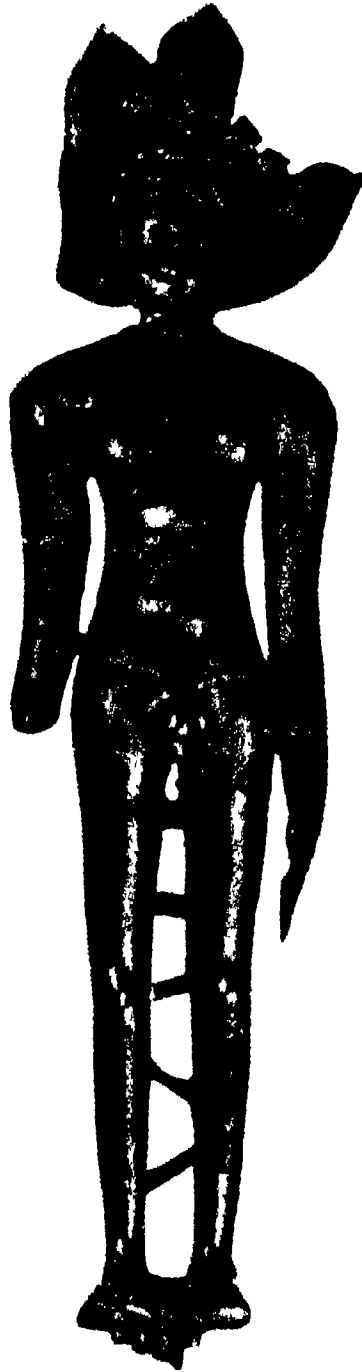
The bronze, cast in *cire perdue*, is very light in weight. It is not unlikely that it was obtained for the Bombay Museum from some part of western India—Sind, Rajasthan, Gujarat or Kutch.[1]

According to the *Bṛhat-Kalpa-Bhāṣya*, it was difficult for Jaina monks to obtain alms (according to the prescribed rules) in the south beyond Pratiṣṭhānapura, and it was Samprati who ordered that such facilities should be provided so that Jaina monks could travel farther south to propagate the doctrines of Jainism. One hears of Jaina followers at Śūrpāraka, and Vajrasena, pupil of Ārya Vajra (traditional date *circa* 57 B.C. to A.D. 50), gave initiation to some monk-disciplines at Śūrpāraka (modern Sopara, near Bombay).[2] Out of these four disciples started the four ancient *kulas* (schools, orders) of Jaina monks, namely, Nāgendra, Candra, Vidyādhara and Nivṛtti. Also Ārya Samudra and Ārya Maṅgu had been to Śūrpāraka.[3] However, no early Jaina images of this age have yet been discovered in western India or the Deccan.[4]

[[1] Moti Chandra and Gorakshakar suggest a second century A.D. date and a north-Indian provenance, see their chapter on the Prince of Wales Museum. The author of the present chapter says, in personal correspondence, that because of the affinity with the Indus art, the bronze in question could have come from a west-Indian site—perhaps in Sind—and could have been obtained for the Museum by an officer of the Archaeological Survey of India who had extensively explored the west-Indian sites. He adds that Professor V.S. Agrawala was especially intrigued by the absence of the *śrīvatsa*-mark, which is found on the chest of all north-Indian Jina figures.—Editor.]

[2] *Bṛhat-Kalpa-Bhāṣya*, pp. 917-21; cf. *Paṭṭāvalī-samuccaya*, ed. Muni Darśanavijaya, Viramgam, 1933, *Kalpa-Sūtra-Sthavirāvalī*, p. 8; *ibid.*, *Guruparvakrama* of Guṇaratnasūri, p. 26; *ibid.*, *Śrī-Tapāgaccha-Paṭṭāvalī*, pp. 47-48.

[3] J.C. Jain, *Bhārata ke Prācīna Jaina Tīrtha* (Hindi), p. 65; *Vyavahāra-Bhāṣya*, 6, 239 ff. The *Tāpagaccha-Paṭṭāvalī* of Mahopādhāya Śrī-Dharmasāgaragaṇī, *Paṭṭāvalī-samuccaya*, I, p. 46, says: *śrī-Vīrāt tri-pañcāśad-adhika-catuḥ-śata-varṣātikrame 453 Bhṛgukacche Āryā-Khapuṭācārya iti paṭṭāvalyām/Prabhavāka-carite tu catur-aśītyadhika-catuḥ-śata—484—varṣe Ārya-Khapuṭācāryaḥ/sapta-ṣaṣṭy-adhika-catuḥ-śata—467—varṣe Arya-Maṅguḥ.*

[4] Sankalia has recently published an inscription from a cave at Pala, about 12 km. from Kamshet in Pune District, which he reads: (1) *namo Arihantanaṁ Phaguna* (2) *da bhadanta Indarakhitena lenam* (3) *kārāpitaṁ podi ca sahā ca kahe sahā.* He suggests that the cave is a Jaina one. He assigns the inscription to *circa* second century B.C. H.D. Sankalia in *Svādhyāya* (Gujarati journal), Baroda, VII, 4, pp. 419 ff. and plate. It is well-known that the term *arhat* was used commonly by both Buddhists and Jainas at the early stage. It is difficult to say when the term came to be exclusively used by the Jainas. Because of the definite Buddhist association of Karla and other caves in this area, one cannot be too sure that the inscription is of Jaina origin but that possibility cannot be completely ruled out. It must be remembered that some time before the Gupta period, and by the end of the Kushan period, the term *arhat* or *arihanta* gradually came to be reserved for Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras.

Prince of Wales Museum : bronze Pārśvanātha

Junagadh : Bāwā-Pyārā's cave

PLATE 38

That the Jainas were very active in west India during the early centuries of the Christian era is proved by the accounts of Ārya Khapuṭa of Broach,[1] and Ārya Pādalipta[2] and Nāgārjuna in Saurāṣṭra (near Palitana) and Valabhī (also in Saurāṣṭra) respectively.[3] Ārya Nāgārjuna was the head of the first Valabhī Council in the early fourth century A.D. Ācārya Mallavādī, the great Jaina logician and author of the *Dvādaśāra-Nayacakra*, defeated the Buddhists in a dispute at Valabhī in early fourth century.[4] Ārya Vajra, the teacher of Ārya Vajrasena, referred to above, is reported to have visited the Ābhīra country,[5] Dakṣiṇāpatha[6] and even Śrīmāla[7] (modern Bhinmal in Marwar).

At Junagadh near Girnar is a group of about twenty monastic rock-cut cells, known as caves of Bāwā-Pyārā's Maṭh and described by Burgess.[8] Arranged in three lines, these caves have a very early form of *caitya*-window ornament over Cave B (plate 38B). Cave F of Burgess is a primitive cell, flat-roofed, originally with four pillars, the back being like a semicircular apse. Cave K in this group has two cells with carvings of the auspicious pot-and-foliage (*maṅgala-kalaśa*) and other symbols like the *svastika, śrīvatsa, bhadrāsana, mīna-yugala,* etc. (fig. V), found on the Mathurā *āyāga-paṭas*. These symbols could not conclusively establish the Jaina character of these dwellings, since there seems to have been an unfinished (perhaps later) attempt to add these symbols in front of one cell. But the discovery of a mutilated inscribed slab (buried in front of Cell I) of the time of the grandson of

[1] *Āv. Nir.* with *Cūrṇi*, p. 542; *Niśītha-Cūrṇi*, 10, p. 101; *Bṛhat-Kalpa-Bhāṣya*. 4, 5115 ff. Also see note above.

[2] *Āv. Cū.*, p. 554; *Piṇḍa-Niryukti*, 497 f.

[3] Muni Kalyāṇavijaya. *op. cit.*, pp. 110-18.

[4] Muni Jambūvijayaji, *Dvādaśāra-Nayacakra*, introduction.

[5] *Āv. Cū.*, pp. 396-97.

[6] *Ibid*, p. 404.

[7] *Āv. Ṭīkā*, p. 390a. Ārya Vaira (Vajra) is possibly the same as Ācārya-ratna Muni Vairadeva of the Sonbhaṇḍār cave inscription at Rajgir, as shown by U.P. Shah in *Journal of the Bihar Research Society*, XXXIX, 1953, pp. 410-12. [Others have doubted this identification, see chapter 11. The writer of the present chapter says in personal correspondence that in all known Digambara and Śvetāmbara literature or *Paṭṭāvalis* there are only two monks—Ācārya Vajra and his pupil Vajrasena (in Prakrit Vaira and Vairasena) who could have been referred to in the Sonbhaṇḍār inscription; the identification suggested by him is therefore highly probable. About the date of the caves, he draws attention to S.K. Saraswati's views.—Editor.]

[8] Burgess, *Report on the Antiquities of Kathiawad and Kacch*, Archaeological Survey of India, New Imperial Series, II, London, 1876, pp. 139 ff. H.D. Sankalia, *Archaeology of Gujarat*, Bombay, 1941, pp. 47-53.

Jayadāman (Rudrasena, the son of Rudradāman),[1] refering to those who had obtained *kevala-jñāna* and conquered age shows that at least in the second century A.D. the caves were in the hands of the Jainas.[2] The absence of any definite Buddhist symbols is significant. It would not be wrong to suppose that the Jainas had a monastic establishment near Girnar.

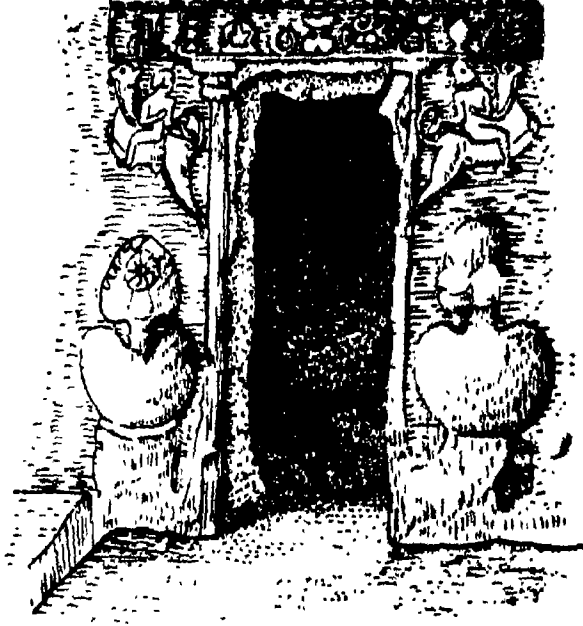



FIG. V. Junagadh : Bāwā-Pyārā's caves, entrance to Cave K. (After Burgess)

According to the Digambara tradition given by Vīrasenācārya, the author of the *Dhavalā* commentary, some time after six hundred and eighty years of Mahāvīra's *nirvāṇa*, i.e., towards the end of the first century A.D. or in the second century A.D., a great Jaina monk Ācārya Dharasena taught scriptures to Puṣpadanta Bhūtabali in the Candraśālā cave near Girinagara (Girnar).[3] This is identified by Hiralal Jain with the caves of Bāwā-Pyārā's Maṭh.[4] Vīrasena wrote his commentary on the *sūtras* composed by Pūṣpadanta and Bhūtabali after studying scriptures from Dharasena. In view of the inscription

[1] A.M. Ghatge in *The Age of Imperial Unity*, ed. R.C. Majumdar and A.D. Pusalker, Bombay, 1960, p. 418, suggests that he was Damayasada or Rudrasiṁha I.

[2] Burgess, *op. cit.*; Sankalia, *op. cit.*

[3] *Teṇa iv Soraṭṭha-visaya-Girinayara paṭṭaṇa-candaguhā-ṭhieṇa aṭṭhaṁga-mahā-nimitta-pāraneṇa gantha-vocchedo hohadi tti jāda-bhayena pavayaṇa-vacchaleṇa dakkhiṇāvahāiriyāṇaṁ mahimāe miliyāṇaṁ leho pesido. Dhavalā-Tīkā.*

[4] Hiralal Jain, *Bhāratīya Saṁskṛti men Jaina-Dharma kā Yoga-dāna* (Hindi), Bhopal, 1962, pp. 41-42, 75-76, 309-10.

referred to above, and in view of this Digambara tradition, the Jaina association of the caves seems obvious. The *Soraṭṭhiya-sāhā* (*śākhā*) of Māṇava-gaṇa starting from Sthavira Ṛṣigupta, mentioned in the *Kalpa-Sūtra-Sthavirāvalī*, would further suggest that already in *circa* second-first century B.C. there existed a group of Jaina monks in Saurāṣṭra.

Regarding Jaina art in the north-west, Marshall suggested that the *stūpa* at Sirkap (Block F), Taxila, might have been a Jaina *stūpa*,[1] since a double-headed eagle in a niche in its basement reminded him of a similar motif on the *stūpa*-relief on the Mathurā *āyāga-paṭa* set up by Vasu, the daughter of Lopaśobhikā.[2] But the total absence of any other Jaina relic in the whole of this extensively-excavated site cannot be overlooked. Jaina traditions do speak of only a *dharma-cakra* set up by Bāhubali, the son of Ṛṣabhanātha, the first Tīrthaṅkara, in Uttarāpatha.[3] The *Vasudeva-hiṇḍī* and the *Pauma-cariyu* do not mention the account of origin of the *dharma-cakra* at Takṣaśilā given by Haribhadra in his *Āvaśyaka-Vṛtti* on the *Āvaśyaka-Niryukti*.[4] Besides, Digambara sources do not refer to this incident and associate Bāhubali with Potanapura and not Takṣaśilā. The Jaina association of the Sirkap *stūpa* is, therefore, not certain.[5]

UMAKANT P. SHAH

[1] John Marshall, *A Guide to Taxila*, 3rd ed., Delhi, 1936, plate XIII, p. 88; Motichandra, 'Kuch Jaina anuśrutiyān aur purātattva' (Hindi), *Prem'ī Abhinandana Grantha*, pp. 229-49.

[2] J. Ph. Vogel, *Catalogue of the Archaeological Museum at Mathurā*, Allahabad, 1910, pp. 184 f. ; V.S. Agrawala in *Journal of the U.P. Historical Society*, XXIII, 1950, pp. 69-70, has revised the earlier reading of the inscription.

[3] *Bṛhat-Kalpa-Bhāsya* V, *gāṣha* 5824, gives the catchword *cakra*, which the commentator explains as *Uttarāpathe Dharma-cakram*.

[4] *Avaśyaka-Niryukti* with commentary of Haribhadra, I, 332, and pp. 144 ff. In this account Ṛṣabhanātha is reported to have gone from Takṣaśila to Bahali-aḍambilla and preached to the people of Bahali and to the Yonakas and Pahlagas. The verses in this account suggest that Takṣaśilā was probably included in the province of Balkh-Bactria (Bahali) in the age of the origin of this account.

[5] For a fuller discussion, see U.P. Shah, *Studies in Jaina Art*, Banaras, 1955, p. 10 and note; U.P. Shah, 'Bāhubali—a unique bronze in the Museum', *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum*. Bombay, 5, 1953-54, pp. 32-39, plates V and VI.

CHAPTER 9

SOUTH INDIA

INTRODUCTION

THE SPREAD OF JAINISM IN SOUTH INDIA IS ATTRIBUTED TO A MIGRATION OF THE Jaina community under the Śrutakevali Bhadrabāhu towards the close of the fourth century B.C. Digambara tradition avers that Bhadrabāhu was accompanied by a king called Candragupta (Prabhacandra in the Sravanabelgola inscriptions from A.D. 600 onwards), who is believed to be the Maurya king of that name. The migration brought the Jainas, according to this tradition, to Sravanabelgola in Karnataka and thence to the Tamil country. The subsequent movement to the Tamil areas is believed to have been led by one Viśākhācārya. The route of the migration would thus seem to be from north India (Malwa region) to Karnataka and from there to the Tamil country.

The above tradition, which is quite strong and persistent, is recorded in later literary texts of the eleventh-twelfth centuries and onwards, while the earliest epigraphic evidence of the movement comes from the Sravanabelgola inscription of a period not earlier than A.D. 600. The correlation of traditional accounts with actual Jaina remains has thus posed a serious problem, due to the almost total absence of monumental and epigraphic evidence before 600, particularly in the Deccan.

With the exception of a Purāṇic reference to Simuka, the first Sātavāhana ruler of the second-first centuries B.C., being a follower of Jainism and some early Prakrit texts like the *Bṛhatkathā* of Guṇāḍhya, clear and proven historical associations of the Deccan with Jainism are practically non-existent for the early period down to *circa* A.D. 600. It is not till the period of the Badami Cāḷukyas (seventh-ninth centuries) and the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Malkhed (eighth-tenth centuries) that monumental art-remains of the Jainas, both in the rock-cut and structural styles, are found and have been utilized with significant results in historical studies.

The situation is not very different in the Andhra region. South of Orissa, where the earliest rock-cut caves of the Jainas are located (Khandagiri-Udayagiri hills), practically very little has been noticed in the form of Jaina remains belonging to a period before the tenth-eleventh centuries. On the other hand, both between the western and eastern Deccan, the Buddhists seem to have had an incessant architectural activity of the rock-cut mode in the west from the second century B.C. to the ninth century A.D. and of the structural mode in the east from the second century B.C. to about the fifth century A.D.

In contrast to the situation in the Deccan, the Tamil country comes up with an interesting series of natural caverns on hills, suitably altered by the cutting of beds and drip-ledges to render them habitable for ascetics of the Jaina persuasion. It is curious that these caverns with beds belong to a period much earlier than any monuments of the Deccan dedicated to Jainism. Scattered all over the Tamil country, the caverns together with early Brāhmī inscriptions are found at several spots on the Eastern Ghats, particularly in the region surrounding Madurai.

These early Jaina foundations are important for various reasons: (1) they represent the earliest lithic monuments in this area, (2) they contain the earliest epigraphic records in the Brāhmī script and in the Tamil language, and (3) they provide authentic evidence of the early spread of Jainism in the Tamil country. Consequently, they are of great significance in the study of the earliest architectural activity in stone and in the rock-cut style and in the study of the earliest writing known in this region, although from the viewpoint of artistic and aesthetic development they hardly mark the beginnings of any movement. However, the innovation in the material used for religious architecture, viz. stone, may be traced back to these early lithic monuments, most of which were occupied by the Jainas. There is little doubt that these caverns later gave way to the rock-cut caves, both of the Jaina and of Brāhmaṇical sects, which arose in the same areas where the early caverns with Brāhmī inscriptions are found.

There are certain general features noticeable in these Jaina centres. The natural caverns were altered in such a way as to make them suitable for habitation. The overhanging rock was cut in the form of a drip-ledge to carry rain-water away from the cavern, which acted as the shelter. Inside the caverns beds were cut out of the rock, with raised portions at one end to serve as pillows(?). The beds were made smooth by chiselling and even appear to have been polished in some cases.

The short Brāhmī inscriptions, recording the names of the donors or occupants, are found either on the beds themselves or above the drip-ledges on the overhanging rock.

In front of the caverns structural additions were made in the form of thatched roofs supported by pillars. The holes for erecting these pillars are seen to this day on the rock-surface in front of some of the caverns. The caverns are invariably located near springs of water, evidently such spots being chosen due to the easy availability of water from the springs.

At almost all these sites Jaina sculptures were carved at a later date, i.e. seventh-ninth centuries, accompanied by Vaṭṭeluttu[1] inscriptions, giving the names of famous Jaina teachers and occasionally of the donors. These carvings are generally found on the overhanging rock, or at any convenient spot or rock-surface not far from the caverns. This would indicate an almost continuous occupation of these areas by the Jainas up to about the eighth-ninth centuries, when changes were brought about, either due to their abandonment by the Jainas themselves or by their deliberate conversion into Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava centres. These changes were no doubt the consequences of the religious conflict that raged between the adherents of Buddhism and Jainism on the one hand and the Brāhmaṇical sects on the other, the latter having been spearheaded by the exponents of the Bhakti cult. It is also significant that throughout this controversy, the Jainas are referred to as belonging to the hills (usually eight in number), most of which are located around Madurai.

The hills around Madurai were perhaps the major strongholds of the Jainas in the Tamil country, for it is in these areas that some of the most flourishing Jaina monasteries subsequently arose.[2] Again it was at Madurai that the Drāviḍa-*saṅgha* of the Jainas was founded by one Vajranandin in *circa* A.D. 470.

The Jainas must have reached this area as early as the second century B.C. (the date given to the earliest Brāhmī inscription from Mangulam). The route of this movement can be traced from the Karnataka region, through the hills of the Koṅgu country (Coimbatore area), the region west of Tiruchchirappalli, further south to Pudukkottai and then to the hills of Madurai—a series of hill-abodes stretching from Karnataka to the Madurai region. Some of the Jainas appear to have trickled into the northern parts of the Tamil country, as shown

[1] Vaṭṭeluttu is a cursive script, which evolved out of Brāhmī in the southern region.

[2] See below, p. 97, under Muttuppatti (Samanarmalai).

by the hills of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam (Chingleput, North Arcot and South Arcot Districts), where again similar caverns with beds occur. In the Coḷa country, south of Toṇḍaimaṇḍalam and north of Pāṇḍya territory, there is very little evidence of Jaina occupation in this period, with the exception of Tiruchchirappalli and the western fringes of the Kāverī delta.

Contemporary Tamil literature, known as the Śaṅgam literature is familiar with the Jainas and some of their practices. Increasing knowledge of the Jainas and their tenets and philosophy is exhibited only in the epics, the *Śilappadikāram* and *Maṇimekalai*, which may be assigned to about the fifth-sixth centuries A.D. However, opinion is divided among scholars regarding the date of these two epics, some scholars treating the epics as Śaṅgam works and hence assigning them to about the second century A.D. and others bringing them down to a period as late as the eighth century A.D.

There is clear evidence in the *Śilappadikāram* of the existence of Jaina temples in some important towns like Kāverippūmpaṭṭinam and in the Cera country (Kerala). Evidently these temples were of the structural mode and the materials used in their construction were those commonly used prior to the seventh century in this region, viz. brick, mortar and timber.

A Jaina institution of considerable importance and antiquity is mentioned in the *Śilappadikāram*. The institution was known as Guṇavāyirkoṭṭam (a temple?) and is said to have been situated in the Cera country. Iḷaṅgo Adigaḷ, the author of the work, was a Cera prince, who renounced his claims to the Cera throne and took to asceticism. In all probability he became a Jaina monk and retired to the Guṇavāyirkoṭṭam. Recently, attempts have been made to locate the *koṭṭam* in the Cera region and incidentally, the date of the epic has been brought down to the eighth century.[1] It may be argued, however, that the nature of Jaina influence revealed by this work and its specific references to Jaina institutions make it highly improbable that such an institution came into existence after the religious conflict which began in the seventh century or that it outlived in any remarkable way the serious consequences of the Brāhmaṇical revival of the seventh-eighth centuries. On the contrary, it is quite likely that originally the temple was constructed in brick and mortar and was later converted into a stone edifice, the ruins of which are supposed to exist in a site called Kunavay, not far from Koḍungallūr (Cranganore) in central Kerala.

[1] M.G.S. Narayanan, 'New light on Kuṇavāyiṛkoṭṭam and the date of Cilappadikāram', *Journal of Indian History*, XLVIII, 1970, pp. 691 ff.

In the absence of any notable Jaina remains such as temples or monastic buildings belonging to the early period, the natural caverns with their beds and Brāhmī inscriptions acquire greater importance as the only datable series of monumental remains in the Tamil country of this period.

The terms that are met with in the Brāhmī records for these Jaina foundations are *pali* (cave), *palli* (cave and by extension a school), *atiṭṭānam* (seat or bed) and *kañcaṇam* (bed). Architectural terms such as *kūra* (roof), *piṇa-ū* (fronds) and *muśagai* (covering) are also commonly used.

A somewhat puzzling tradition relating to these Jaina sites is that which connects them with the five Pāṇḍava heroes. Epic associations are indeed very strong in the local traditions relating to all the important historical sites containing monumental remains in south India. This is as much true of the Brāhmaṇical centres as of the Jaina and Buddhist sites. Hence, the hills, their caverns, beds and water-springs are generally referred to locally as Pañcapāṇḍavamalai, Pañcapāṇḍavar tippa (or kuṭṭu), Pañcapāṇḍavar paḍukkai, Aivarśunai, etc.

The following survey of these early Jaina strongholds in the Tamil country is mainly topographical and regional and attempts to indicate their chronological position, wherever possible.

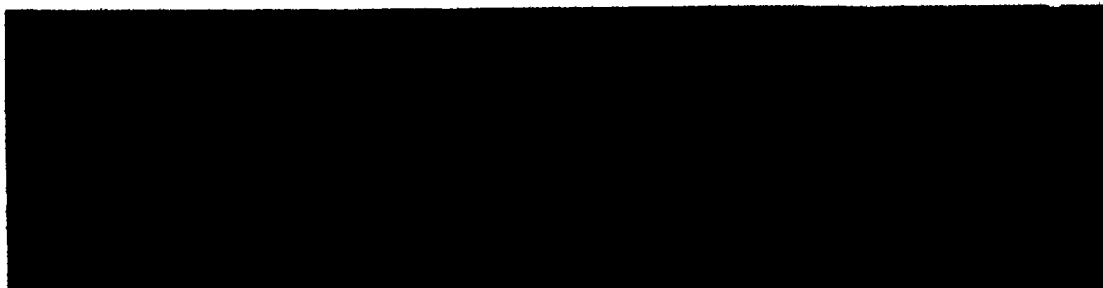
DESCRIPTION OF THE CAVES

MADURAI DISTRICT

Madurai Taluk

1. *Anaimalai* (first-second centuries A.D.). Situated not far from the Vaigai river this village has a natural cavern with one Brāhmī inscription refering to the cutting of several beds. On the huge overhanging rock are sculptures of Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras and the Yakṣī Siddhāyikā, belonging to a later period, mentioned one of the greatest Jaina teachers of eighth-ninth century, is also Ajjaṇandi, here in a Vaṭṭeluttu record.

The Brāhmī inscription has been assigned to the first-second centuries A.D.

2. *Arittapatti* (second-first centuries B.C.). Eight km. from Metur on the way to Alagarkoyil from Madurai is a village called Arittapatti with a hill locally known as Kalinjamalai. On the eastern face of the hill is a cavern with a drip-ledge cut on the outer face of the rock. A Brāhmī inscription on the

A. Mankulam : part of an inscription

B. Sittannavasal : cavern inhabited by Jaina monks

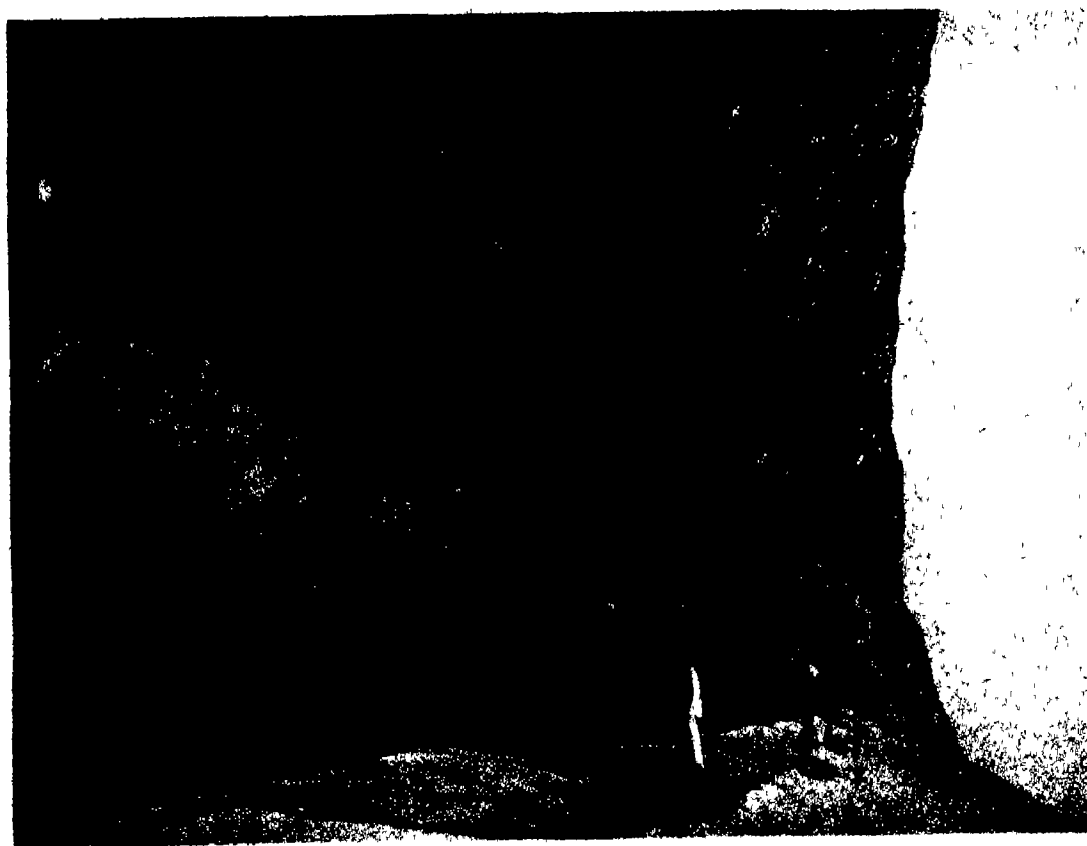
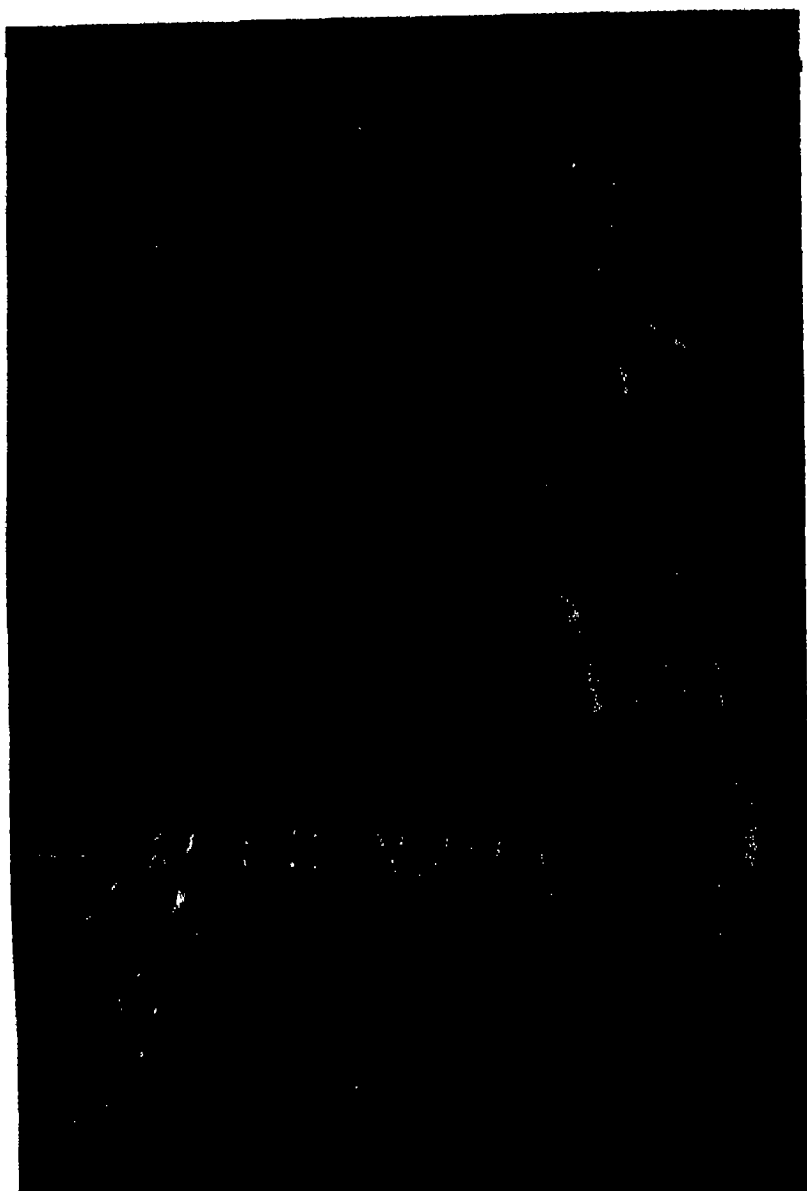
PLATE 39

Sittannavasal : inscribed rock-cut bed

PLATE 40

Tenimalai : cavern inhabited by Jaina monks, later Jaina reliefs on isolated boulder

PLATE 41

Pugalur : cavern inhabited by Jaina monks

brow of the cavern records that the cave was given by Chalivaṉ Atanan Voḷiyan of Nelveḷi.[1] An interesting reference is made in this inscription to the erecting of a *muḷagai*, i.e. a temporary covering made of wooden posts and palm-fronds, erected in front of the cavern as a protection against sun and rain.

There is an image of Ajjanandi with a later Vaṭṭeluttu inscription mentioning him.

3. *Mankulam* (second-first centuries B.C.). This is a village near Arittapatti and the local hill is called Kalugumalai. There are caverns on the hill with rock-cut beds and six Brāhmī inscriptions. Four of these inscriptions refer to a Jaina teacher called Kani-Nanta. The earliest Brāhmī inscriptions seem to occur here and have been dated in the second-first centuries B.C. (plate 39A) on the basis of their palaeography and the reference to an early Pāṇḍya being Neḍuñjeliyaṉ.

One of these inscriptions refers to the making of the lattice (the fronds?) (*piṇa-ū*) by a merchant belonging to a *nigama* (guild) from a place called Veḷ-arai.

4. *Muttuppatti* (Samanarmalai) (first-second centuries A.D.). A group of rocky hills called Samanarmalai (the hill of the Samaṇas or Jainas) stretches for a distance of about 3 km. in an east-west direction, about 8 km. west of Madurai. The south-west extremity of these hills faces the village of Kilkuyilkudi (Kilakkudi) and the north-west extremity lies near the village of Muttupatti. Scattered at different spots on these hills are a large number of caverns with beds and Brāhmī inscriptions. Later Jaina sculptures with Vaṭṭeluttu inscriptions of the eighth-ninth centuries are found all over the hills.

The caverns near Muttupatti have beds locally known as Pañcapāṇḍavarpadukkai, and the Brāhmī inscriptions here record the names of occupants and donors. The Jaina sculptures of the eighth-ninth centuries represent Mahāvīra, his attendants and their deities.

There are two caverns near Kilakkudi called Pechchipallam and Settippodavu. The latter faces another village by name Kongar Puliyangulam. The Brāhmī records in Kongar Puliyangulam (Settippodavu cavern) are interesting as they refer to the making of the *kūra* or canopy, the fronds and thatches protecting

[1] K.V. Raman and Y. Subbarayalu, 'A New Tamil Brāhmī inscription in Arittapatti', *Journal of Indian History*, XLIX, nos. 145-47, April, August and December, 1971, pp. 229-32.

the cavern. The eighth-ninth century sculptures here and in Pechchipallam represent Pārśva and other Tīrthaṅkaras and Yakṣīs such as Ambikā and Ajitā. Ajjanandi, the famous Jaina teacher, also figures in one of them.

The whole range of hills called Samanarmalai appears to have been a monastic establishment of the Jainas called Tirukkaṭṭāmpaḷḷi of Kuraṇḍi in Veṇbunāḍu in later inscriptions from the ninth century onwards. This was, perhaps, one of the largest monasteries of the Jainas in the Tamil country, for members of this institution figure in inscriptions as far south as Chitral or Tiruchcharanattumalai, south of Trivandrum and as far north as Karandai in North Arcot District.

5. *Tirupparankunram* (second century B.C. to second century A.D.). This centre is well-known for its Subrahmaṇya worship and is now represented by a huge complex of structures added to a rock-cut cave-temple of Pāṇḍya times (ninth century). The hill was originally occupied by the Jainas, and natural caverns with beds occur in another part of the hill at a place called Sarasvatī-Tīrtha at a considerable height. There are four Brāhmī inscriptions, one of which is interesting as it mentions a householder from Ceylon, making this foundation. Iaina sculptures of Bāhubali and Pārśvanātha found near the caverns belong, as usual, to the eighth-ninth centuries.

6. *Varichchiyur* (Kunnattur) (second century B. C. to second century A.D.). Three Brāhmī inscriptions in the hill at Varicbchiyur refer to the stone beds as *kacaṇa* (bed or abode). *Pāli* (or *palli)* is the term commonly met with in all these early records for a cavern or cave. *Palli,* similarly, is an alternative term for cave. Both these terms later came to mean either a monastery or any religious institution of the Jainas (and also Buddhists). *Palli,* by extension, also came to represent a school an educational institution. The Jainas and Buddhists are known to have been great educationists in ancient India.

Melur Taluk

7. *Alagarmalai* (second-first centuries B.C.). Pañcapāṇḍava beds with Brāhmī inscriptions are also found at Alagarmalai (Irunkunram of early Tamil literature), which subsequently developed into a famous centre for the worship of Muruga (Subrahmaṇya) and Viṣṇu. The conversion of such Jaina institutions into Brāhmaṇical ones is a common feature in almost all early Jaina (and some Buddhist) centres in the Tamil country. One of the Jaina sculptures at Alagarmalai (eighth-ninth centuries) represents the Jaina teacher Ajjaṇandi.

8. *Karungalakkudi* (second-first centuries B.C.). On a hill called Pañcapāṇḍavarkuṭṭu in this village are found caverns with beds. The cavern is called *pāli* in a Brāhmī record of the place.

9. *Kilavalavu* (second-first centuries B.C.). The Pañcapāṇḍavamalai in Kilavalavu consists of huge boulders and caverns. The Brāhmī inscription here records the foundation of the monastery by a lay-devotee from Toṇṭi. Later sculptures of Pārśva and other Tīrthaṅkaras are found on the boulders.

10. *Tiruvatavur* (second-first centuries B.C.). This village also contains caverns with Brāhmī inscriptions.

Trinmangalam Taluk

11. *Vikkiramangalam* (second-first centuries B.C.). In the local hill called Nagamalai is a huge boulder known as Undan-kallu with caverns, beds and Brāhmī inscriptions recording the names of people who occupied them or gifted them.

Nilakkottai Taluk

12. *Mettuppatti* (second-first centuries B.C.). A hill called Siddharmalai (the hill of the Siddhas) in this village contains caverns with beds. The lower portion of the rock containing the beds is fashioned like the petals of a lotus. On the same platform is found a pair of foot-prints in relief with a lotus between the two, inside a circle. The foot-prints are said to be those of Sahajānandanātha, an exponent of the Tantric creed (?).[1] There are nine Brāhmī inscriptions giving the names of the donors, assignable to the second-first centuries B.C.

Caverns with or without beds are also found in the hills at Uttamapalaiyam, Aivarmalai (Aiyampalaiyam), Kuppalnattam (Poygaimalai), and Palani (Panchavarnappadukkai), all in Madurai District. No Brāhmī inscriptions have been reported from these sites, although their Jaina associations are clearly indicated by their sculptures datable in eighth-ninth centuries.

RAMANATHAPURAM DISTRICT

13 & 14. *Pillaiyarpatti* (fifth century A.D.) and *Kunnakkudi* (third-fourth centuries A.D.) in Tiruppattur Taluk of the above District contain Brāhmī inscriptions, but in both the cases the cave-temples which were excavated belong

[1] *Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy* (M.E.R. in the following pages), 1907-08, part II, para 99, inscription 47 of 1908.

to the Śaiva creed and very little evidence remains of their early Jaina associations.

TIRUNELVELI DISTRICT

15 & 16. *Marukaltalai* (Chivalapperi) (second-first centuries B.C.) and *Virasikhamani* in Tirunelveli Taluk contain caverns with beds and Brāhmī inscriptions. The stone bed is called *kañcaṇam*, in the Marukaltalai inscription. Vīrasikhamani possessrs in addition to stone beds, a carving of a pair of feet in relief inside a lotus within a square. They are said to be of Sahajānandanātha in a later inscription.[1]

Stone beds and Jaina images have also been reported from Sendamaram Malaiyadikkurichchi and Tirumalaipuram, all the Tirunelveli District.

TIRUCHCHIRAPPALLI DISTRICT

17. *Tiruchchirappalli* (third-fourth centuries A.D.). In the hill called Golden Rock in Tiruchchirappalli is a natural cavern with beds. *Paḷḷi*, in this context, may be a suffix to the place-name arising out of its early Jaina associations, as the term is used for all early Jaina institutions, especially to places of learning. On one of the stone beds is a Brāhmi inscription, which has been doubtfully read as *Ceṅkayapan ke.*[2]

There are cave-temples of the seventh century dedicated to the Śaiva creed and the authorship of these caves have been assigned to the Pallava king Mahendravarman (*circa* 580-630). If the tradition that this Pallava king turned from Jainism to Śaivism and that the Tiruchchirappalli rock-cut temples are some of the earliest ones excavated by him, is correct, then this centre would represent one of those sites where Jaina foundations were later converted into or gave place to Śaiva and Vaiṣṇava ones.

18. *Sivayam* in Kulittalai Taluk of Tiruchchirappalli District contains a unique boulder called the Sundakkaparai, over 9 m. high. It has a row of five beds cut into it. On one of its ridges is a square entablature with later sculptures representing Mahāvīra with his attendants. There are also some later inscriptions giving names of Jaina teachers.[3]

19. *Sittannavasal* (second-first centuries B.C.). The most notable among these early Jaina foundations (plate 39B) and one which was in continuous

[1] 42 of 1908. M.E.R., 1907-08, part II, para 20.
[2] I. Mahadevan, *Corpus of Tamil Brāhmī Inscriptions*, Madras, 1966, p. 11.
[3] 50 of 1913.

occupation by the Jainas from about the second century B.C. to the ninth century A.D. is that at Sittannavasal in Tirumayam Taluk of Tiruchchirappalli District (former Pudukkottai State).

The local hill contains a natural cavern known as Eladipattam after the seven square pits which serve as steps to reach the cavern. The cavern is large with an overhanging rock-face serving as a canopy. The stone beds are chiselled smooth and a Brāhmī inscription of about the second-first centuries B.C. is found near one of the beds (plate 40). It records the making of the *atiṭ-aṉam* (bed or seat) by Iḷayar of Cirupāvil for one Kāvuṭi-Iteṉ born at Kumulūr in Eruminâṭu (Karnataka region ?).

On another face of the hill, at a spot lower than that of the natural cavern is a cave-temple dedicated to the Jaina creed [see below Chapter 19.—Editor]. Originally excavated in the seventh century, this cave-temple was later renovated and re-embellished with paintings in the ninth century, attesting to the continuous importance that this Jaina centre enjoyed for over a thousand years.

20. *Narttamalai*. North of Sittannavasal is another group of three hills known near Narttamalai, one of which is the Ammachatram hill (or Alurutti-malai). It contains polished stone beds and later Jaina images of the seventh-ninth centuries on the overhanging rock of the cavern.

21. *Tenimalai* (Tenurmalai). Another hill in the same area is Tenimalai, which has a natural cavern on the eastern part called Andar-madam, anciently a place of penance for the Jainas. By the side of the cavern are some Jaina sculptures of the seventh-ninth centuries (plate 41).

TIRUCHCHIRAPPALLI DISTRICT

22. *Karur Taluk Pugalur* (third-fourth centuries A.D. ?). The Arunattar hill in Pugalur has caverns with beds (plate 42). There are twelve short Brāhmī inscriptions on the pillows of these beds. A Cerikāyapaṉ from Yārrūr who was an *amaṇaṉ* (a Digambara Jaina ascetic) figures in three of them as the donee of the *adhiṣṭhāna* or residence, which was caused to be made by a Cera prince. The inscriptions have been assigned to about the third-fourth centuries A.D. These, along with three Brāhmī records from Arachchalur in Coimbatore District, form an important group of early records from the Koṅgu country (now represented by Coimbatore, Erode, Salem and Karur regions), lying on the route from Karnataka to the Tamil regions, particularly towards the Madurai area. It is, however, strange that the Brāhmī inscriptions here are assigned to a period later than those of Madurai. It may quite reasonably be doubted whether the dating of

these Brāhmī inscriptions on the basis of palaeography alone, showing certain evolutionary stages in individual letters, is dependable, without taking into account other historical and geographical factors. It may well be suggested that the Jainas skirted along these hills on their way to the heart of the Pāṇḍya territory.

23. About 10 km. from the Arunattar hill is a place called Ardhanari-palaiyam, which also contains beds chiselled out of a rock. A spring by the side of this rock goes by the name of Aivarsunai (the spring of the Five).[1]

COIMBATORE DISTRICT

Erode Taluk

24. *Arachchalur* (third-fourth centuries A.D.). Mention has already been made of the Brāhmī inscriptions from Arachchalur. One of them mentions a lapidary called Tevaṉ Cāttaṉ as the donor.

NORTH ARCOT DISTRICT

Cheyyar Taluk

25. *Mamandur* (third-fourth centuries A.D.). This is one of those sites where early Jaina foundations later come to be remodelled or converted into Śaiva ones. The cavern with a single Brāhmī inscription is found at an inaccessible height on the local hill and the inscription refers to a king who took *Teṉūr* and to the *tacan* (mason) who cut the *kuṉṟu* or hill. What is of special interest is the occurrence in another part of the hill of rock-cut cave-temples assignable to the period of Mahendravarman I, whose conversion from Jainism to Śaivism is based on a strong tradition preserved in *Tevāram* and Śaiva hagiological literature.

26. *Sedarampattu* in North Arcot District also contains stone beds canopied by an overhanging rock. The carving of a triple umbrella on one of the beds establishes beyond doubt the Jaina associations of this place.[2]

SOUTH ARCOT DISTRICT

27. *Tirunatharkunru* (Sirukadambur) (fifth century A.D.). A huge rock in this village carries a series of carvings representing the twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras. There are two late Brāhmī inscriptions assignable to about the fifth century—a period of transition—recording the *niśīdis* of two Jaina teachers Candi-

[1] M.E.R., 1927-28, part II, para 1.
[2] M.E.R., 1939-40 to 1942-43, part II, para 158.

ranandi and Iḷayapaḍāran who fasted for fifty-seven and thirty days respectively.

28. *Solavandipuram* has a group of boulders called Andimalai with sculptures of Jaina deities. There are some stone beds but no inscriptions have been found with them.

CHITTOOR DISTRICT (ANDHRA PRADESH)

The northernmost parts of ancient Tamil country (now forming part of Andhra Pradesh) contain some caverns with Pañcapāṇḍava beds at two places Kannikapuram and Nagari. No inscriptions have been reported from these sites.

R. CHAMPAKALAKSHMI

Part III

MONUMENTS & SCULPTURE A.D. 300 TO 600

CHAPTER 10

MATHURĀ

THE AVAILABLE MATERIAL

WITH THE ADVENT OF THE GUPTAS IN THE EARLY YEARS OF THE FOURTH century, Jaina art and architecture seem to have suffered a heavy blow in Mathurā. It is worth noting that against the large number of Tīrthaṅkara images, *āyāga-paṭas, caitya-stambhas, vedikā-stambhas*, coping-stones, pillars, architraves and carved architectural fragments in red spotted sandstone of the earlier period, the number of such pieces is amazingly reduced in the Gupta age. The Archaeological Museum at Mathurā (AMM) and the State Museum at Lucknow (SML), which house the bulk of Mathurā antiquities, respectively possess only thirty-eight and twenty-one Jaina sculptures which can be definitely attributed to the Gupta age. Exact information on the number of such sculptures in other museums in this country and abroad is not readily available, but none seems to possess Mathurā figures of the period in any considerable number.

The position of the architectural pieces of the Gupta age is still worse. Not a single Jaina piece of any interest exists either in the Lucknow or in the Mathurā Museum. Nor are there any terracotta figures.

All this naturally leads one to believe that after the Kushan age Jainism suffered a great set-back at Mathurā, but it is difficult to find any reasons therefor. We do hear of a quarrel between the Jainas and the Buddhists in which the former came out successful.[1] Even if this victory of the Jainas was of a temporary nature and the Buddhists were fairly dominant in the Gupta age at Mathurā, this quarrel could have hardly damaged the very roots of the Jaina faith.

Royal patronage of the Brāhmaṇical cults can be adduced as another reason but cannot be the only cause. The Kahaum stone-pillar inscription of

[1] *Vyavahāra-Bhāṣya*, 5, 27, 28; *Vividha-Kalpa-sūtra* of Jinaprabha, ed. Jinavijaya, Santiniketan, 1934, pp. 17-18.

Skandagupta (A.D. 460-61) provides evidence to show that the Jaina faith did exist at other places, as the Gupta rulers were tolerant.

Whatsoever might have been the reason, it is a fact that Jainas apparently lost popularity in Mathurā in Gupta times. Nevertheless, they did have their establishment at Mathurā, and the faith did enjoy some sort of support from the laity. Jaina images, both of colossal and normal sizes, were being made and enshrined, but the heyday was gone.

The available Mathurā material comprises the following sculptures :

(i) twenty-five seated Tīrthaṅkara figures in meditation *(dhyānastha)*[1] (four illustrated, plates 43-46);
(ii) six Tīrthaṅkara figures in standing pose *(khaḍgāsana)*[2] (two illustrated, plate 47);
(iii) twenty-three detached heads of Tīrthaṅkara figures[3] (three illustrated, plates 48-50);
(iv) some fragmentary pieces.[4]

Āyāga-patas and independent figures of Jaina deities like Sarasvatī, Balabhadra, Dharaṇendra or any of the Śāsana-devas or Śāsana-devīs are conspicuously absent. Even *sarvatobhadra* figures are very rare; the one in the Mathurā Museum (AMM, B. 75) is of the late transitional period, i.e. of *circa* seventh-eighth century.

Let us now proceed to examine the available material in greater detail.

SEATED TĪRTHAṄKARA FIGURES IN MEDITATION

Among the seated Tīrthaṅkara figures in meditation two are decidedly of Ādinātha (AMM, B. 6 and B. 7, plate 46). One was of Neminātha (SML, J. 89), but it is now completely mutilated, only the attendant Balabhadra appearing on the slab.

[1] SML, J.36, J.52, J.89, J.104*, J.118*, J.119, J.122, J.139, J.584 (?), 0.181*; AMM, B.1, B.6, B.7*, B.11, B.28, B.31, B.33, B.74, B.75, 15.959, 15.983, 18.1388, 54.3769, 57.4338, 57.4382. (* Illustrated.)

[2] SML, J.83, J.86, J.100, J.121*; AMM, B.33, 12.268*. (* Illustrated.)

[3] SML, J.59 (head only), J.164*, J.168, J.175, J.176, J.200; J.207, J.222; AMM, A.35, B.44*, B.45. B.46, B 48, B.49, B.50, B.53, B.59, B.60, B.61, 11.134, 15.565, 15.566, 29.1941, 33.2348*, 67.189. (* Illustrated.)

[4] SML, J.2; AMM, 14.488, 15.624.

Mathurā : a Tīrthaṅkara (SML, J. 104)

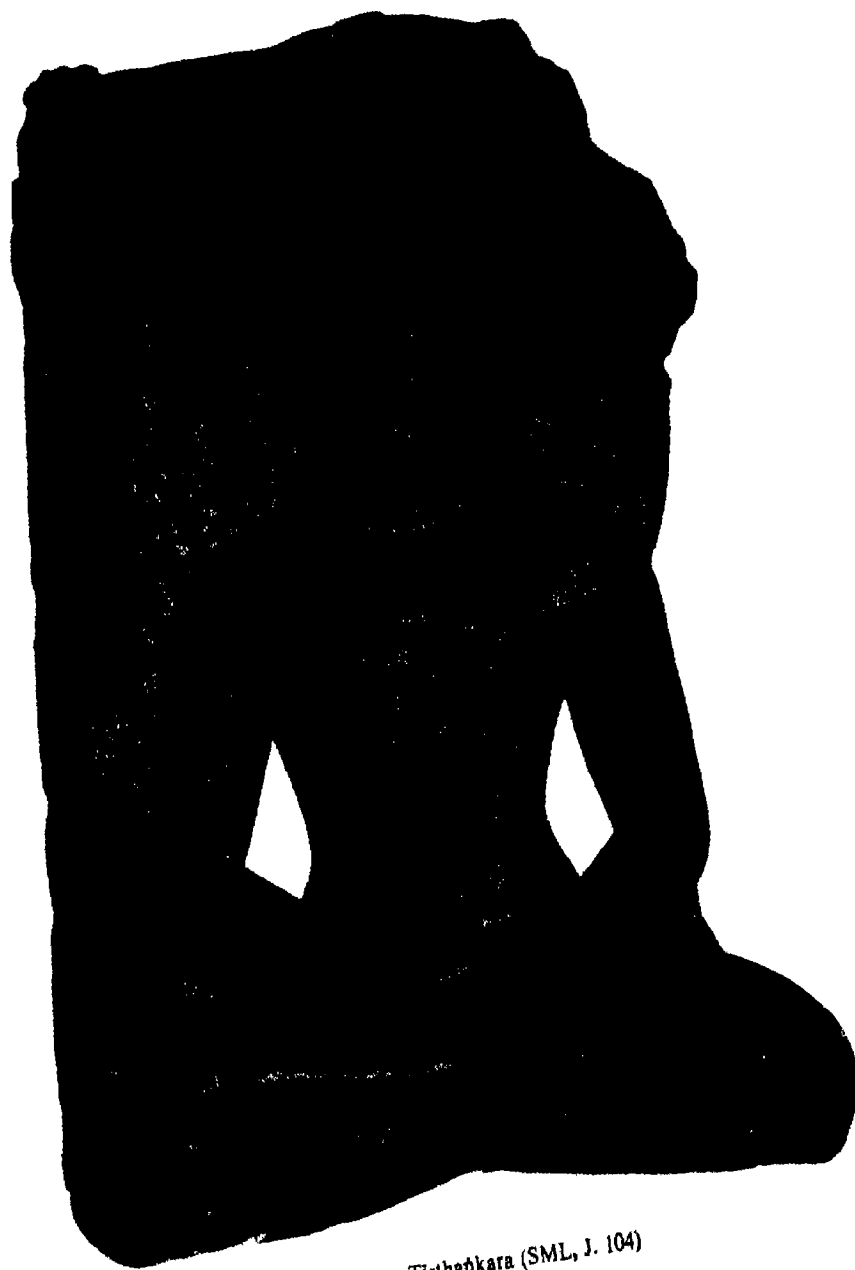
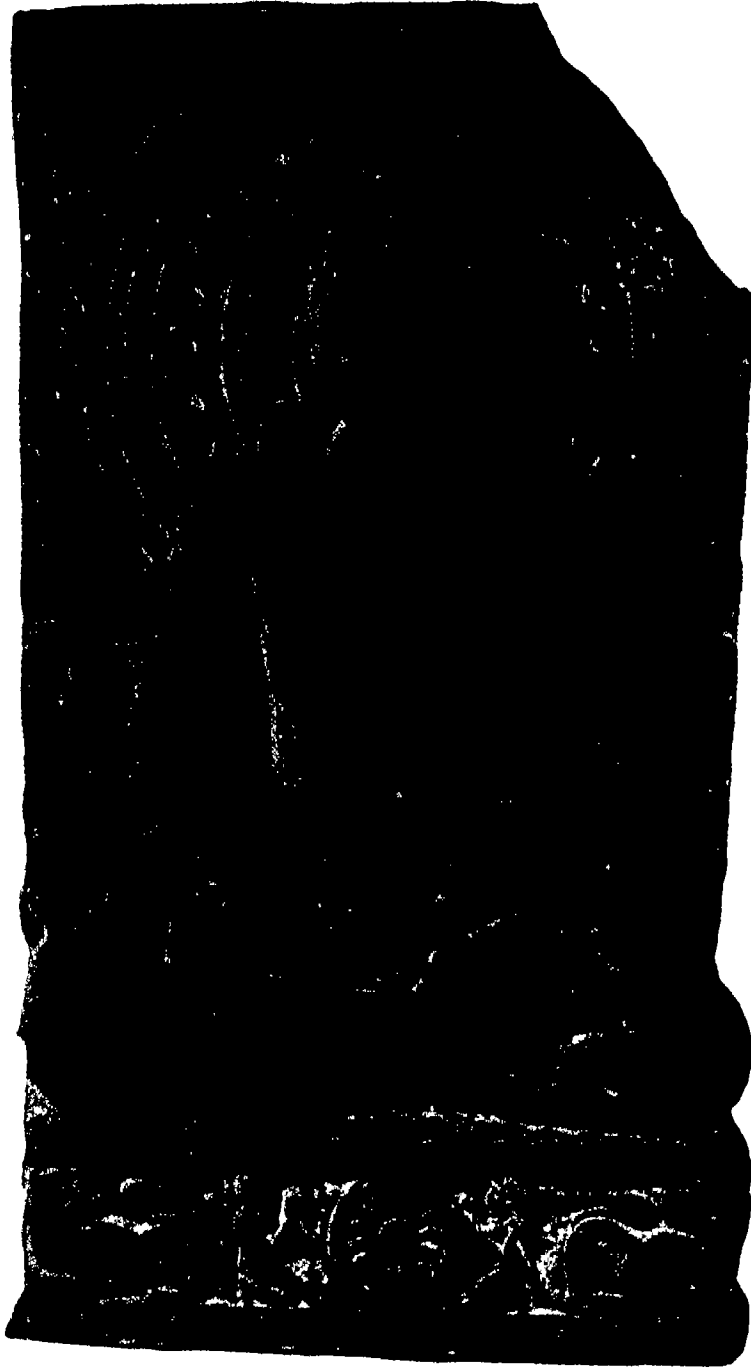
PLATE 43

Mathurā : Tīrthaṅkara (SML. J. 118)

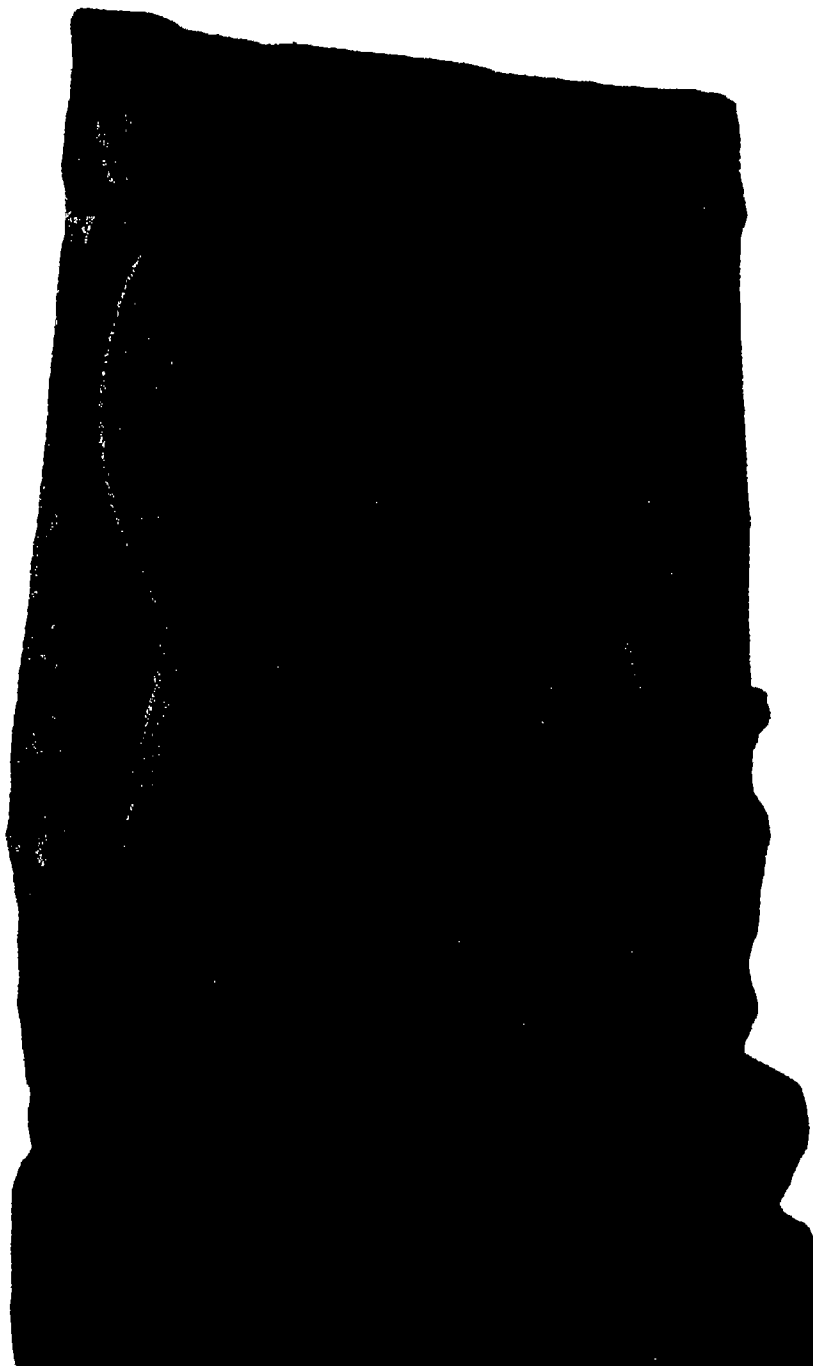
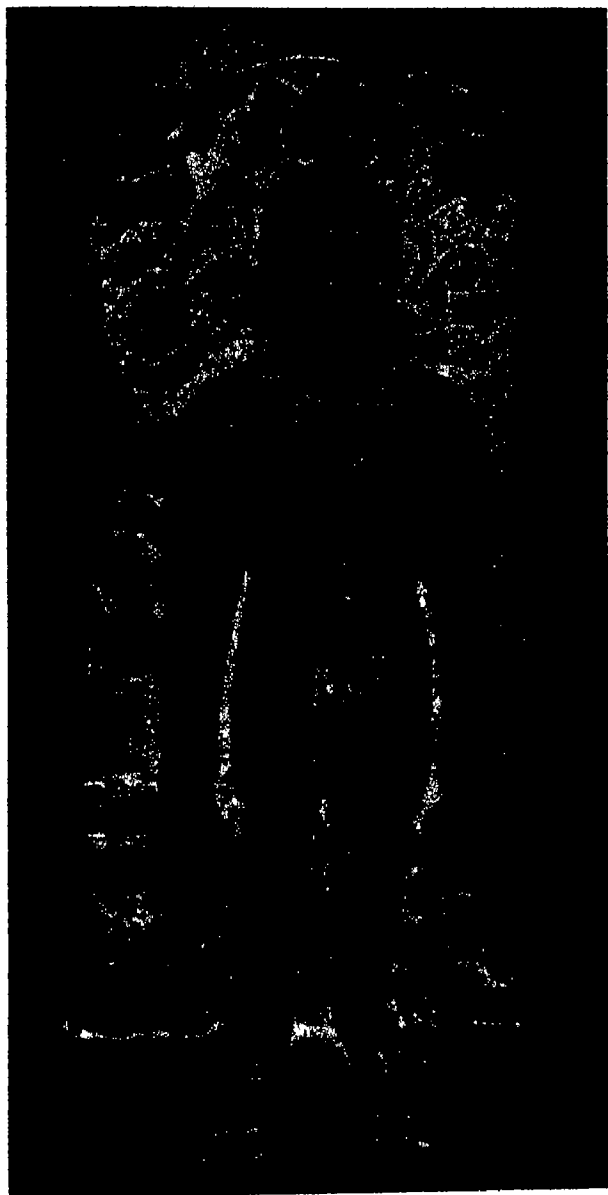
PLATE 44

Mathurā : a Tīrthaṅkara (SML, 0.181)

PLATE 45

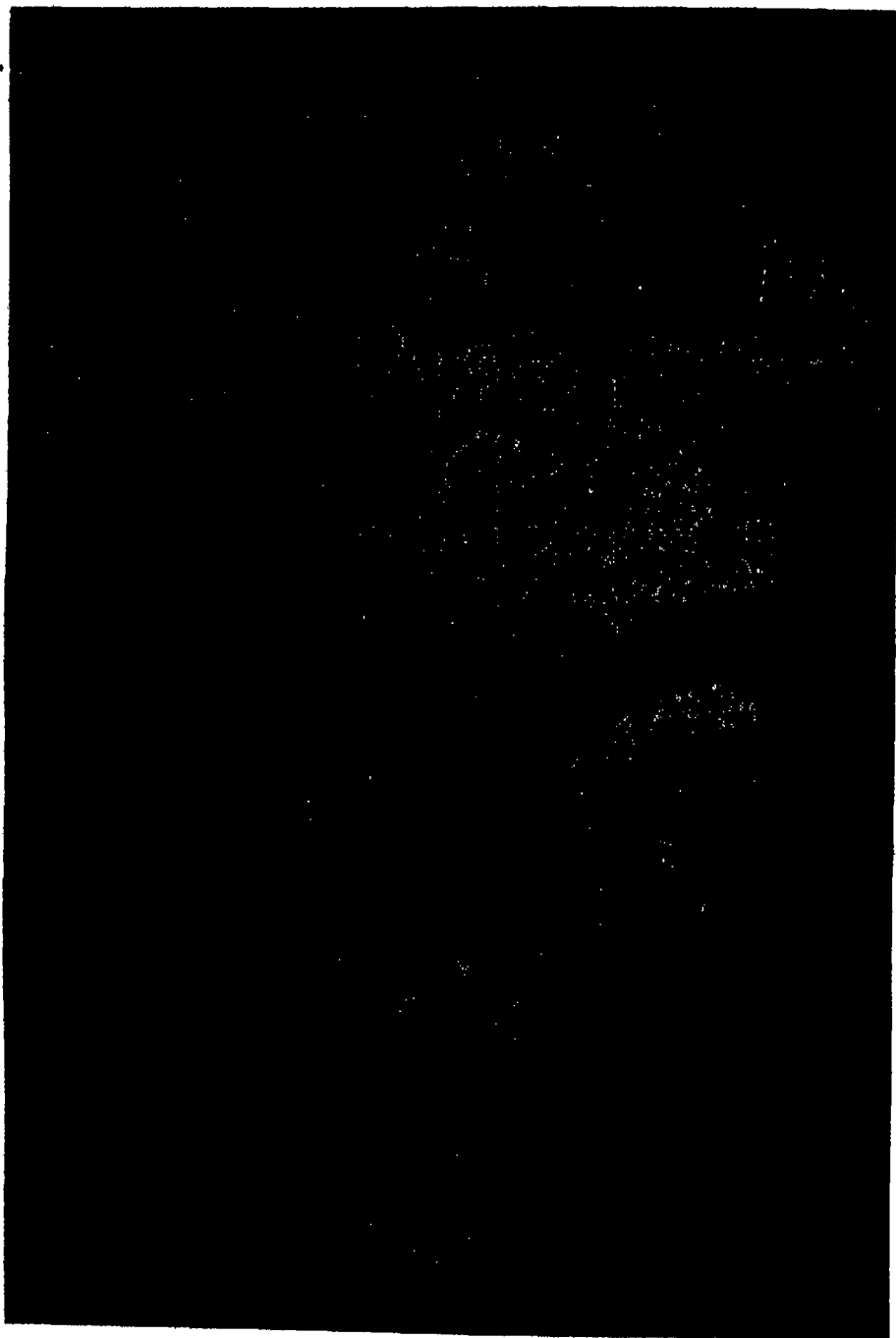
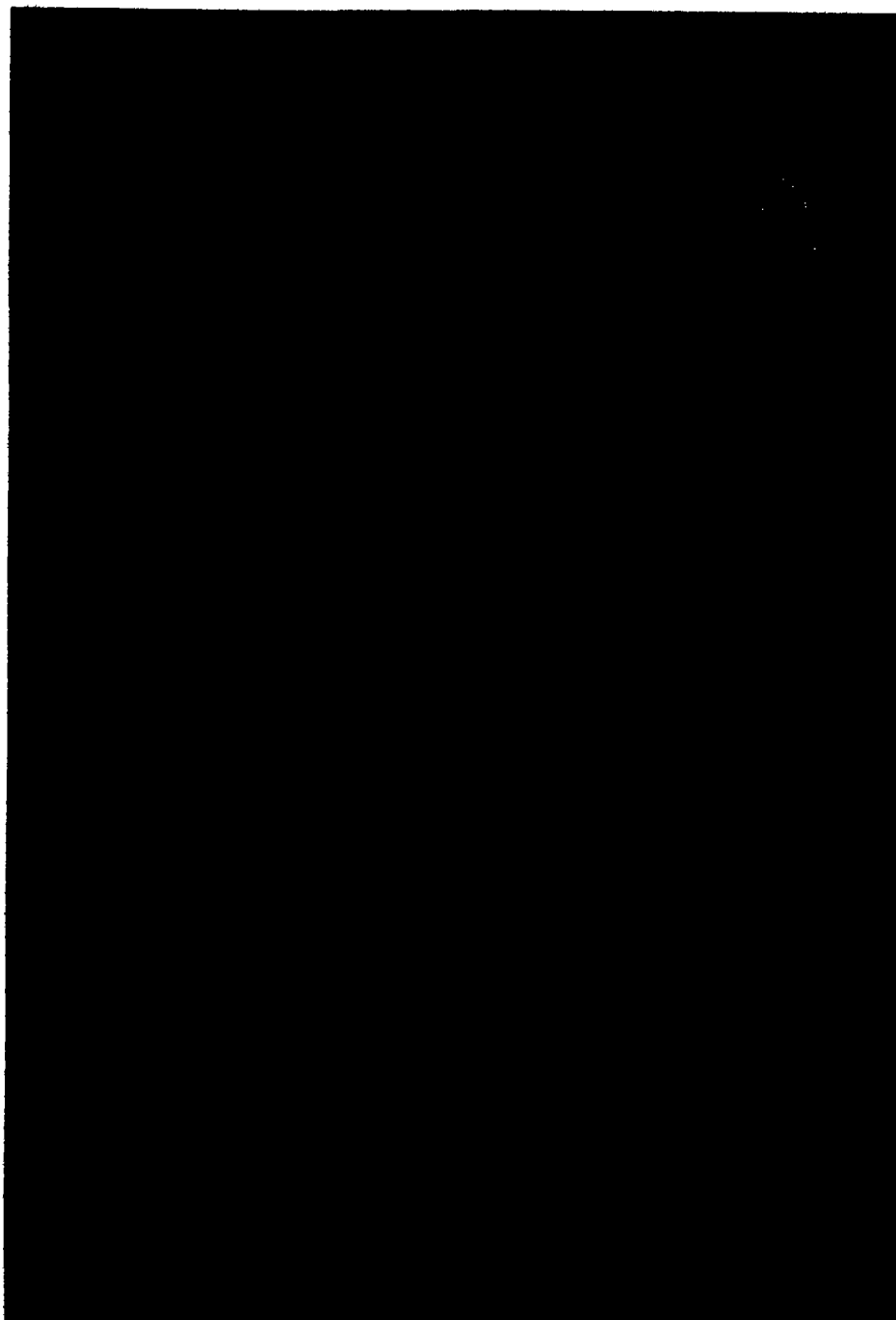
Mathurā : Tīrthaṅkara Ṛṣabhanātha (AMM, B. 7)

PLATE 46

A. Mathurā : Tīrthaṅkara Neminātha (SML, J. 121)

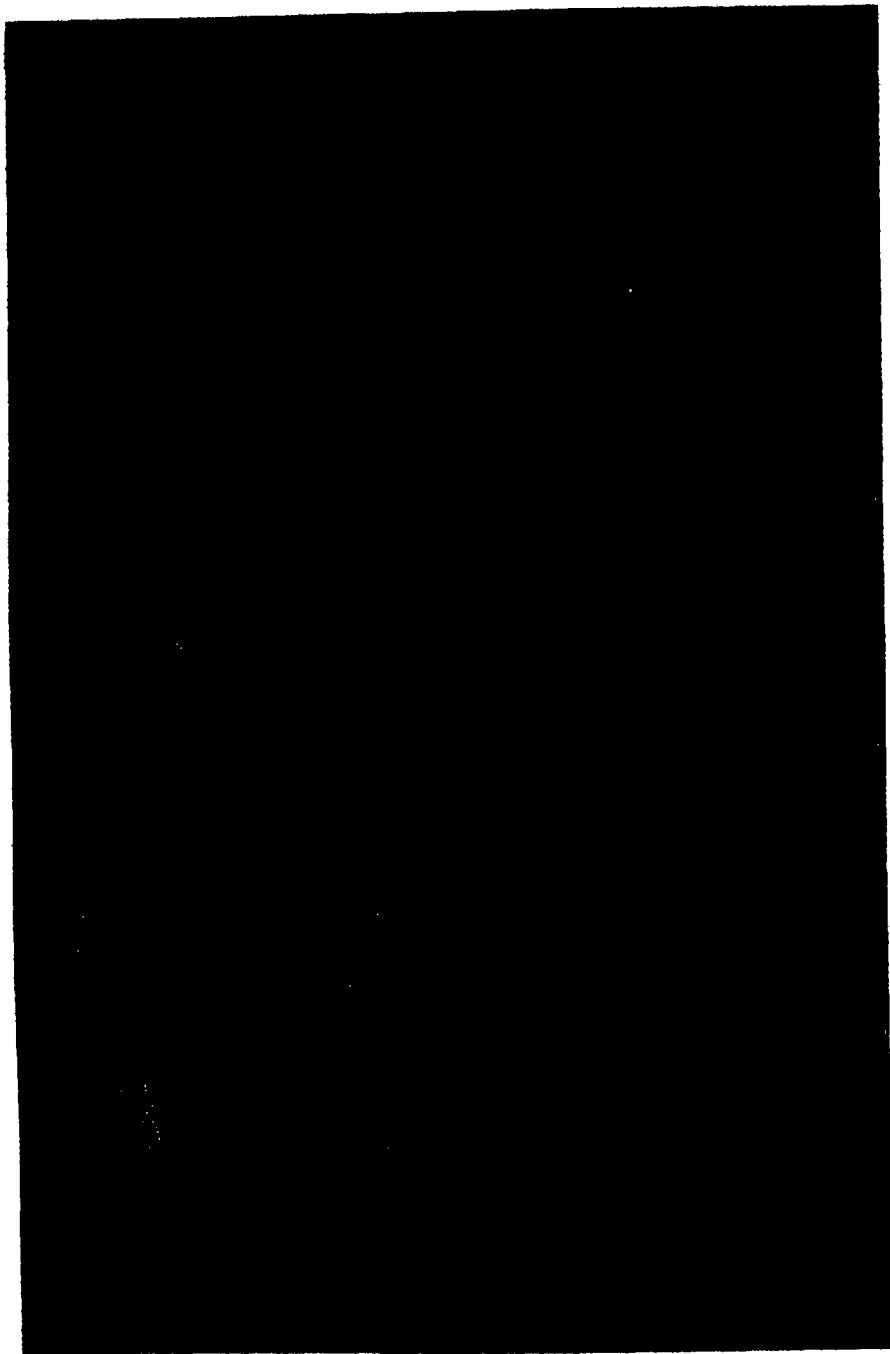
B. Mathurā : Tīrthaṅkara Ṛṣabhanātha (AUM, 12·268)

PLATE 47

Mathurā : head of a Tīrthaṅkara (AMM, B. 44)

PLATE 48

Mathurā : head of a Tīrthaṅkara (AMM, 33.2348)

Mathurā : head of a Tirthaṅkara (SML, J. 164)

PLATE 50

Three of these figures bear inscriptions (SML, J. 584, J. 52; AMM, B. 75). The last is dated in the year 97 (i.e. A.D. 416.).[1]

The appearance of *caurī*-bearers on a number of these figures (SML, J. 52, J. 584?, J. 119; AMM, B. 6, B. 7, plate 46, 15.983, 57.4388) shows that the motif, which had its start in the preceding age, was gradually gaining popularity.

Compared with the seated images of the Kushan age, these figures definitely show greater elasticity and naturality.

TĪRTHAṄKARA FIGURES IN STANDING POSE

The number of standing figures is much smaller than those in the seated pose. Among the six available sculptures, two depict Ādinātha (AMM, B. 33, 12.268, plate 47B), one Neminātha (SML, J. 121, plate 47A) and a fourth one Pārśvanātha (SML, J. 100). The remaining two are difficult to identify.

Only one image of this class (AMM, 12.268, plate 47B,) bears an inscription, which records that the image of Ādinātha belonging to Sāgara was dedicated by Samudra and the owner Sāgara to one Saṅgaraka.[2] On palaeographical grounds, the epigraph—and naturally the image too—has been assigned to early fourth century.

In this connexion it is worth noting that most of the sitting and standing images are in bold relief and not carved in the round.

HEADS

A close study of the detached heads reveals the following interesting facts:

(1) With a few exceptions they bear schematic curls (plate 50). Of the exceptions one depicts notched hair (AMM, 33.2348, plate 49) and in another case the hair is combed back (AMM, 12.268, plate 47B).

(2) Barring one instance (AMM, 12.268, plate 47B), the *ūrṇa*-mark is absent.

[1] V. S. Agrawala, 'Catalogue of the Mathurā Museum', *Journal of the U. P. Historical Society*, XXIII, 1950, p. 54.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 56.

(3) In one case (AMM, B.44, plate 48) there appears on the forehead a circular mark looking like a pendant suspended by means of a narrow strip. Had it not been noticed on another almost contemporary figure of Ajitanātha from Vārāṇasī (SML, 49.199, fig. VI), it could have been summarily dismissed as a later mischief done with the intention of providing a *tilaka-maṇi* to the Tīrthaṅkara. This mark, therefore, calls for special attention.

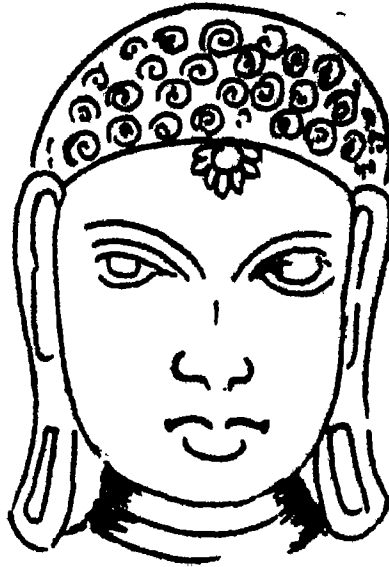



FIG. VI. Vārāṇasī : head of *Ajitanātha* (SML, 49.199)

(4) Generally the eyebrows meet at a point above the nose; but this, occurring on a few specimens (SML, J. 59, head only; AMM, B. 53, 15.565, 29.1941, etc.), cannot be taken as a characteristic of the age.

(5) The eyeballs have not been usually depicted. A specimen from the Mathurā Museum (AMM, B. 53) can be cited as a rare exception. A number of non-Jaina Gupta sculptures from Mathurā also show that the depiction of eye-balls was not a common practice.

(6) Lips are ordinarily thick and elongated and ear-lobes often touch the shoulder.

(7) Normally the face is serene, but sometimes a happy smile is visible (SML, J. 207, B. 45, 67.189, etc.)

FRAGMENTARY PIECES

Such pieces, though belonging to this period, are quite fragmentary and difficult to group under any of the above classes. For example, SML, J.2 is only an inscribed pedestal dated in the year 299 (A.D. 377).

SPECIAL FEATURES

SEATS AND SEAT-DECORATIONS

Every Tīrthaṅkara has been provided with some sort of seat. The earliest type of seats, that is in pre-Gupta times, was plain with a pedestal. In Gupta times the seat was covered with a sort of carpet, a part of which is seen suspended in front of the pedestal (AMM, B. 7, plate 46; SML, J.119).

Over this carpet, appears a heavy cushion, which serves as the *āsana* for the meditating Tīrthaṅkara. This cushion often bears ornamental patterns (AMM, 15.983, B. 7, plate 46, etc.). In one case, however, there is an additional decoration of lotus-petals (AMM, 18.1388).

In a few images no distinct cushion is visible, but the unnatural position of the crossed legs of the meditating figure suggests its existence (AMM, B.1, SML, J.118, plate 44, etc.). In these cases the crossed legs are not at right angles to the spinal column but are seen slanting towards the front—a position that a person would assume when he sits on a high seat with a small cushion.

The appearance of a well-decorated back-rest also had its start in Gupta times. In one specimen (SML, J.118, plate 44) is seen a back-rest with vertical bars, horizontal beams and a 'prancing-lion' decoration.

PEDESTALS

Below the seat appears the pedestal. It was customary since Kushan times to decorate the pedestal with the *dharma-cakra*, either placed on the ground or on some sort of upright pillar flanked by male and female worshippers often standing in a line. At the two ends of the pedestal appeared lions. In the Gupta age the entire motif in general remains the same, but the following changes are noticeable:

(1) The upright support for the *dharma-cakra* is rarely to be seen (e.g. AMM, B.6). Normally the wheel has either a very light support (AMM, 12.268, plate 47B), or it appears directly resting on the ground (SML, J.118, plate, 44, J.121, plate 47A). This perhaps conveys the popular idea that the 'wheel-jewel' (*cakra-ratna*) having travelled all over finally rests below the sacred seat or feet of the Jina.

(2) The *dharma-cakra* generally appears *enface* (SML, J.121 plate 47), though sometimes the sculptor took fancy to show it in profile (AMM, 18.1388,

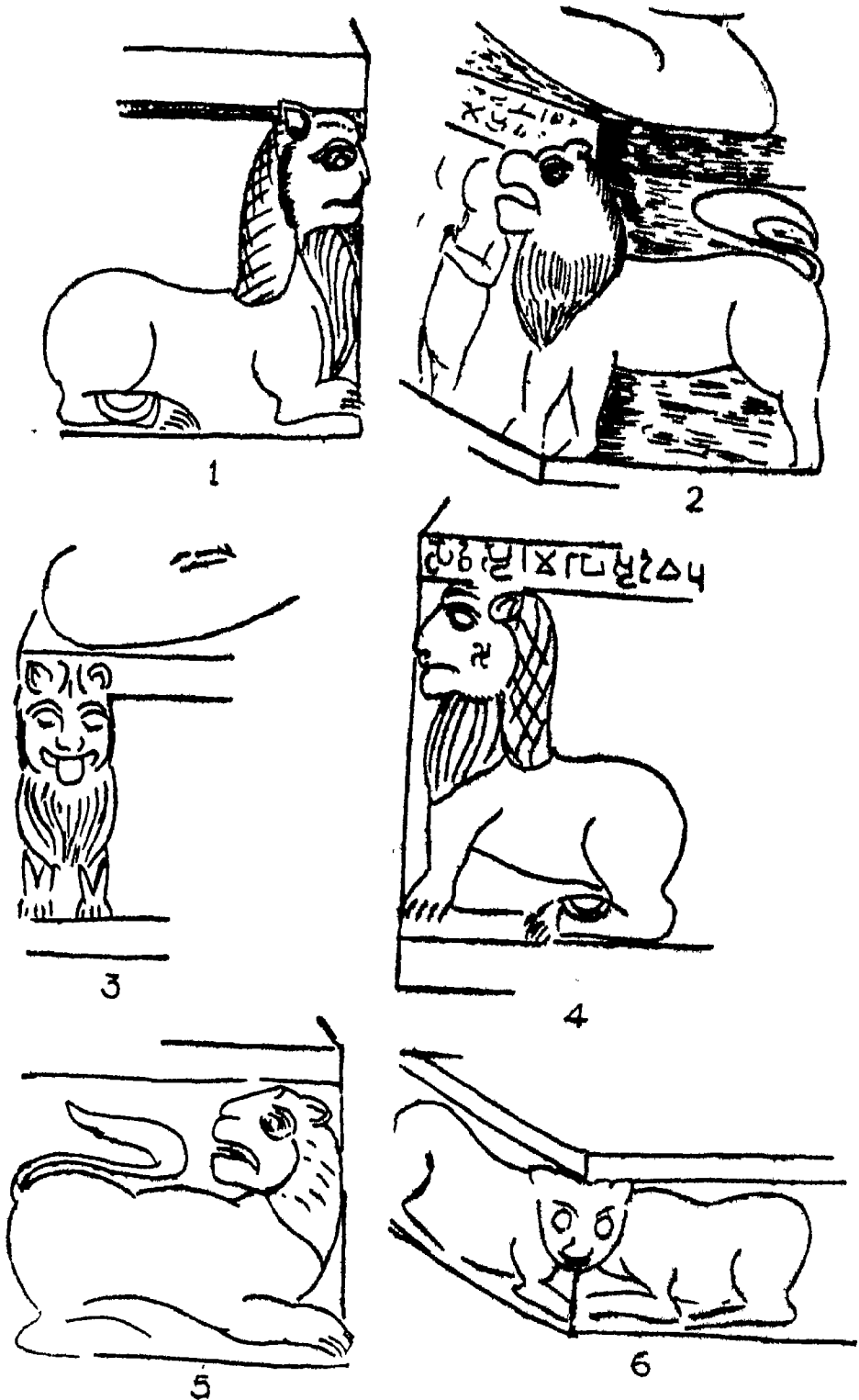



FIG. VII. Mathurā : lions on pedestal, 1-4, Kushan (SML, J. 20, J. 30, J. 34, J. 26; 5-6 and Gupta (SML, J. 118, J. 121)

B.7, plate 46). The spokes of the wheel are very often sixteen in number, but there is no uniformity. The wheel appears in a natural form when shown *enface* but is more decorative when in profile. Sometimes it has a string passing through its nave (AMM, 18.1388). This brings it closer to the *cakra* as a weapon, in which case the string was necessary for throwing the missile, even though the *dharma-cakra* was the wheel of law promulgated by a Tīrthaṅkara and not a weapon. By the end of the Gupta period, the Jainas too had adopted the famous 'deer-and-wheel' motif (AMM, B.75), which was popular with the Buddhists and meaningful to them.

(3) In the Gupta age the line of worshippers flanking the sacred wheel, which perhaps had its origin in Gandhāra art, gradually disappears. In most of the Gupta sculptures they are either absent (SML, J.119; AMM, 12.268, plate 47B), or are symbolized by just two persons seated on knees with folded hands (SML, J.118, plate 44).

(4) On some of the pedestals a new feature comes into prominence, and that is the depiction of the 'Supreme Ones'. The Kahaum inscription calls them *Pañcendras*, and they can be identified as Ādinātha, Śāntinātha, Neminātha, Pārśvanātha and Mahāvīra.[1] The depiction of these five Jinas together in one sculpture seems to have started in the Gupta age at Mathurā. Along with the central figure of one of them, the other four would be depicted in miniature either on the pedestal or on the back-slab (e.g. AMM, B.7, plate 46, SML, J.121, plate 47A). The availability of space would decide their appearance in either *padmāsana* or *khaḍgāsana*. For example, in the Neminātha figure cited above (SML, J.121, plate 47A) three are in meditation, while one stands erect.

(5) The lions appearing on the pedestals to symbolize the *cakravartin* status of the Jina deserve a special study. Right from Kushan times they appear at the two ends of the pedestal in one of the following positions (fig. VII, 1-4): (a) standing *enface* (SML, J.32, J.34, J.40, etc.); (b) standing to front but with the face in profile, facing each other (SML, J.25, J.29, J.30, J.33, etc.); (c) standing slightly *enface* in a position between (a) and (b) (SML, J.35); and (d) sejant seated back to back (SML, J.14, J.17, J.18, J.19, J.27, etc.).

In the Gupta period some new styles came into vogue in the depiction of the lions (fig. VII, 5-6): (a) back to back in couchant position with tails upraised (AMM, 18.1388, B. 6, 57.4338, etc.); (b) seated back to back, but with

[1] S. B. Deo, *History of Jaina Monachism*, Poona, 1956, p. 103.

face turned to front and one of the front paws slightly raised (SML, J.119); and (c) standing *enface* as if walking (AMM, B.7, plate 46).

The most interesting figures are seen on the pedestal of the specimen (SML, J.121, plate 47A). Here there is a curious mixture of the Kushan and Gupta features. In each corner of the pedestal there appears one face to which two bodies have been joined—one from the front and the other from the adjoining side. The Kushan tradition is preserved on the adjoining side, while the front depicts the Gupta characteristic.

Fig. 36 shows the respective vogues in the Kushan and Gupta periods.

Gods and Demi-gods

These include *mālādhārī*-Gandharvas, Suparṇas hovering in the air, attendants flanking the Tīrthaṅkaras and either bearing *caurīs* or standing in adoration-pose and Kṛṣṇa-Baladeva in case of Neminātha figures. A number of them can be traced back to Kushan art. In Gupta art the following can be noted: (i) celestial males hovering in the air carrying garlands (AMM, 12.268, plate 47B; SML, J.118, plate 44; J.121, plate 47A); (ii) Gandharva couples in the air carrying garlands (SML, J.119); (iii) celestial beings carrying offerings (SML, J.104, plate 43); (iv) flywhisk-bearers flanking the Jina (AMM, B.6, B.7, plate 46, 57.4338, etc.); (v) Kṛṣṇa-Baladeva flanking Neminātha (SML, J.121, plate 47A); and (vi) planets appearing by the end of the Gupta period: in the available specimen (AMM, B.75), the number of the planets is only eight, but in post-Gupta times depiction of all the nine planets becomes quite normal.

Depiction of Śāsana-devatās was not prevalent at Mathurā.

Decorations on the Halo

In a number of Kushan sculptures the halo, if depicted, was plain and bore a scalloped border; but fully-decorated haloes of Tīrthaṅkara figures too were not altogether absent (e.g. SML, J.8). In the Gupta age it became a normal practice to decorate the entire halo with several motifs such as lotus-petals (*padma-dala*), scroll-work (*patrāvalī*), floral wreaths (*hāra-yaṣṭi*), scalloped border (*hasti-nakha*), leaf-border (*patra-śākhā*), and so on.

Use of Auspicious Symbols as Body-marks

The *Lalitavistara*, a Buddhist work which existed in the early centuries of the Christian era, mentions a number of sacred symbols that appeared on

the body of Buddha.[1] The Mathurā Buddha and Bodhisattva images of the Kushan period provide visual evidence to support the literary statement. The Jainas, too, in a number of cases adopted this practice for the images of their teachers.[2] The wheel-symbol on the open palms of the Jina images and the wheel and *tri-ratna* on the soles are very common. In rare cases (e.g. SML, J.36) *tri-ratna* is absent on the soles. The practice of depicting auspicious symbols like *svastika*, *śrīvatsa*, *mīna*, inverted *tri-ratna*, *śaṅkha*, etc., in miniature forms on finger-ends was also adopted by some sculptors (e.g. SML, J.17, J.19, J.40). Similar symbols sometimes appear on the soles as well (e.g. SML, J.29). Apart from these the appearance of *śrīvatsa* on the chest was popular in the Kushan Tīrthaṅkara figures.

In Gupta times the practice of depicting sacred symbols underwent the following changes:

(1) Miniature symbols at the finger-ends vanished.

(2) While the appearance of a wheel on the open palm did continue for while (e.g. AMM, B.1), in subsequent years this too was either given up (e.g. AMM, B.7, plate 46) or made insignificant.

(3) Instead, the three natural lines significant in palmistry—viz. lines of head, heart and life—appear very prominently. The lines of *maṇi-bandha* did continue to exist.

(4) The *śrīvatsa*-mark on the chest continued throughout. The old form of 'a fish flanked by two snakes' became very much decorative. The development of the *śrīvatsa* in the Gupta period over the Kushan representations is shown in fig. VIII. Incidentally it may be observed that generally this mark is visible on the chest of the Gupta Tīrthaṅkara images hailing from Mathurā only. At other places this is mostly absent.

ABSENCE OF CHATRA AND LĀÑCHANA

Before we close, it is essential to note the absence of a few things. The first is an umbrella or *chatra*; none of the existing Gupta figures of Tīrthaṅkaras bears a *chatra* over its head. The idea of *chatra-traya* and *chatrāvālī* is a later development.

[1] *Lalitavistara*, ed. S. Lefmann, Halle, 1902, pp. 105-06.

[2] N. P. Joshi, 'Use of auspicious symbols in the Kuṣāṇa art at Mathurā', *Dr Mirashi Felicitation Volume*, Nagpur, 1965, pp. 311-17.

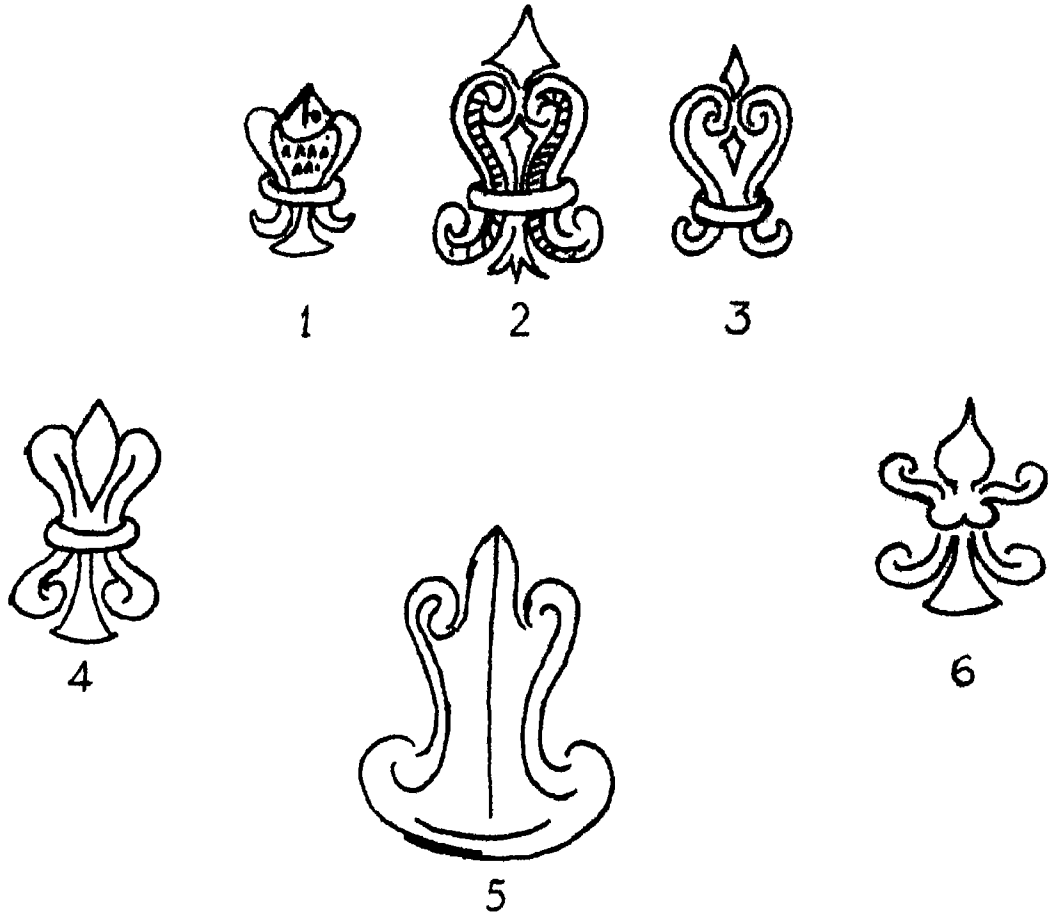



FIG. VIII. *Śrīvatsa*-marks. 1-3, Kushan (SML, J. 16, J. 36, J. 17) and Gupta (SML, J. 118; AMM, B. 6, B. 7)

Similarly the *lāñchanas*. Each of the twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras has traditionally a sign or mark known as *lāñchana* specially attributed to him. Jina images being very similar to each other, it was perhaps thought necessary to assign marks to each of them for purposes of distinction. This does not seem to have been an age-old practice. In none of the Kushan and Gupta sculptures from Mathurā do we come across *lāñchanas*. Inscriptions, hair-styles and attendants are the only available means for the identification of individual Tīrthaṅkaras.

Similarly, the *caumukhī* or *sarvatobhadrikā* and *caubīsī* or *caturviṁśatika* types of Tīrthaṅkara images are practically absent in the Gupta times at Mathurā. So are *māna-stambhas*.

CHAPTER 11

EAST INDIA

MONUMENTS

EAST INDIA IS POOR IN SPECIMENS OF JAINA MONUMENTS AND SCULPTURE OF the period under consideration. It is likely that with the resurgence of Brāhmaṇism and Buddhism Jainism suffered an eclipse in the region. There is definite evidence to show that during this period and a little later certain Jaina establishments changed hands. For instance, one of the Sonbhaṇḍār caves at Rajgir was requisitioned by the votaries of Viṣṇu;[1] likewise, at a later date, in the eighth century, the Jaina monastery at Paharpur was converted into a Buddhist *vihāra* by Dharmapāla.[2] Such transitions might have effected the quantitative remains of Jaina art also[3] in the land which had been the cradle of the faith.[4]

The Jaina literary tradition of the period contains fantastic details pertaining to different types of structures and motifs of art and encompasses religious as well as civil architecture in enumerating *vimānas*, *toraṇas*, pillars, arches, palaces, parks, audience-halls, stadia, galleries, etc. The surviving examples of the Jaina monuments have apparently little to match those descriptions either in the profuseness of form or in variedness of content. A few monuments of the period existing at Rajgir mainly form the basis of our study. These consist of a ruined temple on the Vaibhāragiri and the twin Sonbhaṇḍār caves cut on the southern scarp of the same hill (both described below, pp. 118 and 120) ascribed to this period.

[1] Cf. M.H. Kuraishi and A. Ghosh, *Rajgir*, fourth ed., Delhi, 1956, p. 24.

[2] K.N. Dikshit in *Epigraphia Indica*, XX, 1929-30, p. 60.

[3] Jaina images of the period might have been recut and shaped to represent deities of other cults. One such example is available at Dharpal (Bankura), where a Pārśvanātha image was converted into that of Viṣṇu. Cf. A.K. Bandopadhyaya, *Bāṅkurār Mandir*, quoted by D.K. Chakravarti in *Babu Chhotelal Jain Smṛti Grantha*, Calcutta, 1967, p. 49. Chakravarti also points to the evolution of Śaiva cults in Bengal from Jainism, *ibid.*, p. 49.

[4] S.C. Mukherji, 'Cultural heritage of Bengal in relation to Jainism,' *Babu Chhotelāl Jain Smṛti Grantha*, pp. 145; B. Saraswati, 'Jainism in Bengal', *ibid.*, pp. 141; K.S. Behara, 'A note on Jainism in Orissa', *ibid.*, pp. 165.

Another important Jaina monument which flourished in the fifth century but eventually disappeared is known from the Paharpur copper-plate inscription of the (Gupta) year 159=A.D. 479.[1] This extensive Jaina monastic establishment was situated at Vaṭa-Gohālī and was presided over by the Nirgrantha preceptor (*śramaṇācārya*) Guhanandin, belonging to the Pañca-stūpa-*nikāya* of Kāśī or Navyāvakāśika.[2] The *vihāra* was subsequently enlarged and occupied by the great temple and monastic complex of the Buddhists. However, the excavations at the site have revealed that even as the monastery was enlarged, it retained the original Jaina plan conforming to the typical *sarvatobhadra* type. This plan is typically Jaina is evolution.[3] During its heyday the *vihāra* of Vaṭa-Gohālī was an active centre of Jaina religious pursuits, and when Hiuen Tsang visited the Puṇḍravardhana region he saw some one hundred Deva temples where sectaries of different schools congregated. Amongst them the naked Nirgranthas were most numerous.[4]

REMAINS OF RAJGIR

Located at Rajgir are the twin rock-cut Sonbhaṇḍār caves,[5] involving a different mode of workmanship than used in the structural edifices. These caves—eastern and western (plates 51 and 52)—have been assigned to the third or fourth century A.D. Cunningham had identified the western cave with the famed Saptaparṇī cave where the first Buddhist Council was held.[6] Subsequently, when the other cave was discovered, Beglar suggested that the two caves belonged to Buddha and his disciple Ānanda.[7] These suggestions should be

[1] Dikshit, *op. cit.*, pp. 59 ff.

[2] Pañca-stūpānvaya, mentioned in the sixth and thirteenth lines of the inscription, was founded by Arhadbalaya Ācārya of Puṇḍravardhana, according to the *Śrutāvatāra* cf. Chhotelal Jain in *Anekānta*, Aug., 1966, p. 239; cf. also S.B. Deo, *History of Jaina Monachism*, Poona, 1956, p. 558, for the *anvayas*.

[3] J. Fergusson, *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture*, London, 1906, II, p. 28; Mukherji, *op. cit.*, p. 149. This type of plan may have evolved out of the Jaina *samavasaraṇas*. For *samavasaraṇas* and their antiquity, see U.P. Shah, *Studies in Jaina Art*, Banaras, 1955, pp. 123 ff. Similar plan occurs later at Osia and Sadri in Rajasthan and at the Chausaṭh-Yoginī temple at Khajurāho. K. Fischer, *Caves and Temples of the Jainas*, Aliganj, Etah, 1957, p. 5.

[4] S. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, London, 1906, II, p. 195.

[5] Kuraishi and Ghosh, *op. cit.*, p. 26, plate VII A; M.H. Kuraishi, *List of Ancient Monuments Protected under Act VII of 1904 in the Province of Bihar and Orissa*, Archaeological Survey of India, New Imperial Series, LI, Calcutta, 1931, pp. 120 f., figs. 80-81.

[6] *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, III, Calcutta, 1873, pp. 140 ff; earlier he had identified it with Pippala cave (*ibid.*, I, Simla, 1871), p. 24.

[7] Kuraishi, *op. cit.*, 1931, p. 121.

discarded in view of the evidence provided by the inscription which came to light on the outer wall of western cave. This Sanskrit inscription declares that Muni Vaira (Vajra) 'caused to be made two caves worthy of ascetics, in which were installed the images of Arhats.'[1] Bloch assigned the inscription to the third or fourth century A.D. Konow pushed back the date of the cave by a century.[2] Shah has supported Konow and identified Muni Vaira of the inscription with Vajra the 'great Śvetāmbara Ācārya who died in the 584th year of Mahavīra's *nirvāṇa* (A.D. 57).'[3] Shah follows Saraswati (although on a different evidence), who says that the Sonbhaṇḍār cave agrees essentially with the Mauryan Barabar and Nagarjuni caves and perhaps belongs to a date not far removed from them.[4] However, the date of the inscription, as suggested by Bloch, has been retained by Kuraishi and Ghosh, and the characters of the inscription as well as the six figures of Jaina Tīrthaṅkaras carved in relief on the southern wall of the eastern cave confirm this date. Close to the inscription in the western Sonbhaṇḍār cave there is a faintly perceptible outline of the lower half of a Jina figure.[5] Inside the cave there is another relief in outline depicting a seated Jina accompanied by an artistic female figure holding *caurī*. In those details the caves correspond to the details of the inscription. The association of Digambara Jaina sect with Vaibhāragiri is confirmed by Hiuen Tsang,[6]

[1] T. Bloch in *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report, 1905-06*, Calcutta, 1909, p. 98

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 106.

[3] Shah, *op. cit.*, p. 14. Shah admits the existence of only two Jaina Ācāryas of the name Vajra, the first of them mentioned in the *Āvaśyaka-Niryukti* and the second in the *Triloka-Prajñapti*. Of these, the former, according to Shah, finds mention in the Sonbhaṇḍār inscription. As regards the chronological incompatibility involved in this identification, Shah says that the inscription may be posthumous. He does not accept the existence of any other Vaira (Vajra) than the two above, because, he says, 'had it been so, his name would not have passed unnoticed in any of the different *Sthavirāvalīs*.' U.P. Shah, *Journal of Bihar Research Society*, XXXIX, 1953, pp. 410-12.

[Dr Jyoti Prasad Jain, in a personal communication, says : 'It so happens that a Digambara saint of the name of Vīradeva finds mention in a record from Karnataka, *Epigraphia Carnatica*, X, 1905 p. 73) of about the middle of the fourth century A.D.'—Editor.]

[4] [See also chapter 8.—Editor.] The plainness of the caves cannot be doubted. But it is interesting that these Sonbhaṇḍār caves are similar to those at Udaigiri (Vidiśā) in that they are not completely rock-cut. The sockets on the exterior of the Sonbhaṇḍār caves indicate that originally some kind of wooden extension was appended to them. A brick superstructure and a verandah in front of the eastern cave are also noticeable. These features are present in the Gupta caves at Udaigiri also. *Cf.* Cunningham, *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, X, Calcutta, 1880, p. 46.

[5] Kuraishi, *op. cit.*, 1931, p. 122.

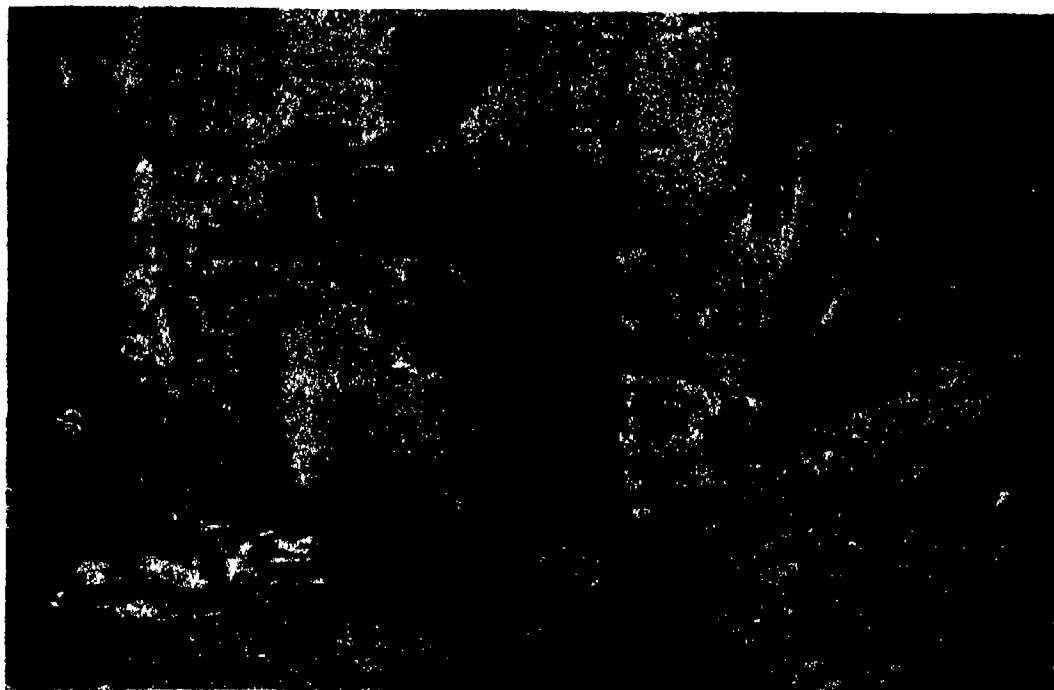
[6] Beal, *op. cit.*, II, p. 158.

who observed that the Digambaras lodged at the Pi-pu-lo (Vaibhāra) mountain 'practised austerities, incessantly turning round with the sun.' So the evidence about the Śvetāmbara Muni Vajra seems to be dubious : Muni Vajra finding mention in the inscription of the third-fourth century A.D. cannot be the Śvetāmbara Muni Vajra who had passed away in A.D. 57. Unless more is known to show the compatibility of the inscription and the Tīrthaṅkara reliefs with the twin Sonbhaṇḍār caves, the date held earlier should stand.

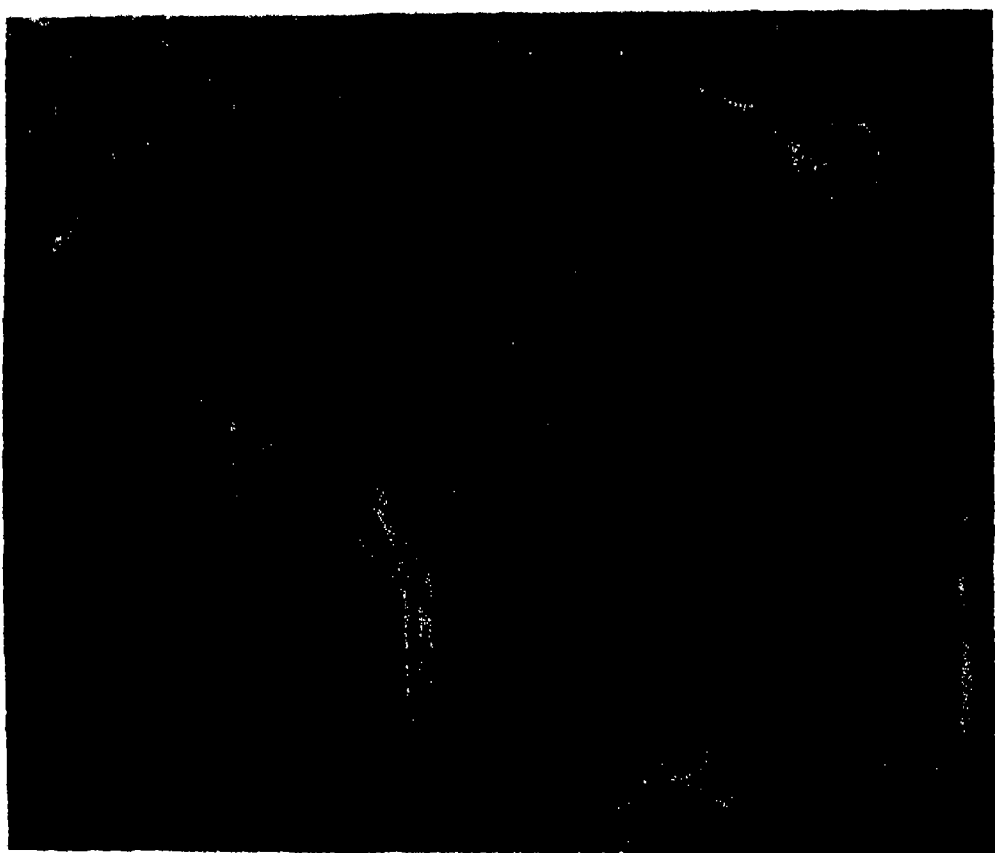
There is nothing very particular about the architectural style of these caves. The first cave, i.e., the western one, measures 10·3×5·2 m. has a door-way about 2×1 m. and a window about ·9×·76 m. The door has sloping jambs with a taper of about 15 cm. from the base to the top. The roof is cut into an arch, which has a rise of about 1·5 m. Inside, as outside, it has nothing of any aesthetic value, excepting the Jinas in low relief mentioned above (p. 119) and below (p. 122). There are, however, certain obliterated epigraphs and other shell-inscriptions on the inner walls, door-jamb and the front wall.[1]

The eastern cave, adjacent to the western one, stands on a lower level, and is contemporary with the latter.[2] When Cunningham saw it,[3] its interior was filled with the débris of its toppled roof. This cave is oblong and is smaller than the western one and carried a superstructure of brick. The upper storey so made was approached by a rock-cut flight of irregular steps. From the débris of the toppled superstructure was obtained a Garuḍāsana-Viṣṇu image, which indicates that the cave was later on requisitioned by the Vaiṣṇavas. Inside the cave, on the southern wall, are six small figures of the Jinas in relief. 'Outside both the caves there was a roofed verandah ... as is indicated by beam-holes on the outer wall (on the western cave), and a platform or courtyard in front (of the eastern cave), the brick pavement of which is still visible.'[4]

The ruined shrine on the Vaibhāragiri 'consists of a central chamber facing east, surrounded by a court which again is flanked on all sides by rows of cells ... Adjoining the east wall of, and on a level lower than, the main building is another room with stairs on the north.'[5] This room contains some images of Jinas also, ascribable to this period.[6]

[1] Kuraishi, *op cit.*, 1931, p. 121-22; Kuraishi and Ghosh, pp. 24-26.
[2] Muni Vaira's inscription refers to two caves.
[3] Cunningham, *op cit.*, 1871, p. 25.
[4] Kuraishi and Ghosh, *op. cit.*, p. 26.
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 26. [On the date of this shrine, see below, chapter 15.—Editor.]
[6] Ramaprasad Chanda in *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report, 1925-26*, Calcutta, 1928, pp. 125-26.

A. Rajgir : Sonbhaṇḍār, western cave, exterior

B. Rajgir : Sonbhaṇḍār, eastern cave, reliefs of Tīrthaṅkaras on southern wall

PLATE 51

Rajgir : Sonbhaṇḍār, western cave, interior, with a later *caumukhī* on floor

Rajgir : Tīrthaṅkara Nemināṭha in a shrine on Vaibhāra hill

A. Chausa : bronze Tīrthaṅkara Candraprabha (Patna Museum)

B. Chausa : bronze Tīrthaṅkara Candraprabha (Patna Museum)

PLATE 54

A. Chausa : bronze Tīrthaṅkara Ṛṣbhanātha (Patna Museum)

B. Chausa : bronze Tīrthaṅkara Pārśvanātha (Patna Museum)

PLATE 55

Chausa : bronze Tīrthaṅkara Ṛṣbhanātha (Patna Museum)

PLATE 56

SCULPTURAL ART

STONE IMAGES

The eastern region has bequeathed to us images in stone and metal and a few terracotta figurines of the period. The stone images come mainly from Rajgir,[1] while Chausa (District Bhojpur) has supplied sixteen metal images, six of them belonging to this period.[2] The excavations conducted at Kumrahar[3] and Vaiśālī[4] have yielded a few terracotta figurines of Hari-naigameṣa which, in style and artistry, reflect only a continuation of the Kushan archaic mode. Two more images of this period have been reported; one from the ruins of Paharpur[5] and the other from Mainamati, both in Bangladesh.[6] Altogether, these finds make up a complete repertoire of the Jaina art-remains of this period in eastern India. Besides, a few Nāgī images have also been reported from Maniyār-Māṭh at Rajgir.[7] Although Nāgas are grouped under the category of the demi-gods of the *vyantara* region in Jaina cosmology, the evidence from Maniyār-Maṭh suggests no Jaina affiliation of these objects and indicates, on the other hand, the existence of 'some kind of "Pantheon of Rājagṛha", representing serpent deities popularly worshipped in the surrounding localities.'[8]

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] *Patna Museum Catalogue of Antiquities*, ed. Parameshwari Lal Gupta, Patna, 1965, pp. 116-17; H.K. Prasad, 'Jaina bronzes in the Patna Museum', *Shri Mahavira Jaina Vidyalaya Golden Jubilee Volume*, I, Bombay, 1968, pp. 275-83.

[3] A.S. Altekar and Vijayakanta Mishra, *Report on Kumrahar Excavations 1951-55*, Patna, 1959, pp. 109-11.

[4] Krishna Deva and Vijayakanta Mishra, *Vaiśālī Excavation 1950*, Vaiśālī, 1961, p. 51; B.P. Sinha and Sita Ram Roy, *Vaiśālī Excavations 1958-62*, Patna, 1969, pp. 162-63.

[5] Dikshit, *op. cit.*; Shah, *op. cit.*, p. 15. This image represents a Jina standing on a lotus and flanked by a figure of Yakṣa (? Śrāvaka) on each side, cf. *Anekānta* Aug. 1966, p. 236.

[6] T.N. Ramchandran, 'Recent archaeological discoveries along the Mainamati and Lalmai ranges, Tippera District, East Bengal', *B.C. Law Volume*, ed D.R. Bhandarkar and others II, Poona, 1946, pp. 218-19.

[7] Bloch, *op. cit.*, p. 104. Cunningham reported a standing image of Pārśvanātha from Maniyār-Maṭh, when he dug a cylindrical structure there, Kuraishi, *op. cit.*, 1931, p. 132. But Bloch found many more such sculptures and his interpretation, as above, appears plausible. One of the earliest images of Padmāvatī is, however, known from Rajgir, *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report, 1930-34*, Delhi, 1936, II, p. 276, pl. LXVIII b; also P.K. Maity, *Historical Studies in the Cult of Goddess Manasā*, Calcutta, 1966.

[8] Bloch, *op. cit.*, p. 104; *Annual Report Archaeological Survey of India, Eastern Circle, 1905-06*, Calcutta, 1907, pp. 14-15.

Barring the terracotta figurines, the other specimens of Jaina art reflect the aesthetic consciousness of the times and form a part of the universally prevalent idiom of Gupta art. Although conceived in the stereotyped sitting or standing postures, the Jina images now exhibit a major advance over the preceding tradition. The overpowering solidity is no longer present in them. On the other hand, they exhibit the endeavour of the artist to mellow down the stiffness of pose by rendering the solidity of volume with a smooth curve and a rhythm of continuously easy moving line. The awareness towards realizing the animated form is seen in all the images, however the degree of achievement might vary. Generally, the images in stone are artistically superior to those in bronze, and wherever archaism has stayed it is probably due to the failure of the artist to break away from the Kushan idiom of the Mathurā school. Taken as a whole, these images compare well with the similar creations of art in the other regions of north and central India.

The stylistic features of these icons reveal the idioms which materialized at Sarnath and Deogarh and influenced the iconoplastic activity in eastern India.[1] In the Jaina art at Rajgir, at least two distinct stylistic categories are clearly recognizable. The first category is represented by the image of Neminātha from the ruined temple on the Vaibhāragiri and six other Jina reliefs in the eastern Sonbhaṇḍār cave. These specimens reveal greater elegance and better organic interrelationship of the body-structure than those of the other category, which consists of the three images[2] found along with that of Neminātha in the same cell of the ruined temple. These latter are characterized by a stiffer torso, columnar feet and an 'accentuated roll of flesh beneath the navel with a deeply incised line below, which sharply cuts the figure.'[3] Similar treatment is observed on the neck also. The treatment of hands in the standing Jina images of both the categories is incorrect in that the 'frontal arms are joined to profile hands'. Again, in both the categories the feet are columnar and the legs are summarily treated. These images thus reveal a new plastic diction which was gaining ground then. Besides portraying a sophistication, they exhibit the cognizances of the Tīrthaṅkaras which

[1] Cf. Sheila L. Weiner, 'From Gupta to Pāla sculpture', *Artibus Asiae*, XXV, 1962, pp. 167 ff.

[2] Klaus, Bruhn *The Jina Images of Deogarh*, Leiden, 1969. In his system of classification, Bruhn includes one of these images under 'Uncouth Class' (Motif I) and assigns it to the early medieval period, pp. 115-16, 222-24, fig. 76.

[3] In this feature these images compare well with the other images of the Sarnath school of the later half of the fifth century. Cf. Weiner, *op. cit.*, p. 168.

were being accepted in the iconography and which help in fixing the identity of the different Jinas.

The earliest Jina image of this period known so far from eastern India represents the twenty-second Tīrthaṅkara Neminātha in the ruined temple on the Vaibhāra hill of Rajgir (plate 53).[1] This black-basalt image (79×68 cm.) carried a mutilated inscription recording the name of (Mahārājādhirāja) Śrī-Candragupta II (Vikramāditya). The head of the Jina figure is badly mutilated; otherwise the image is a perfect specimen of Gupta art. The Jina is shown seated in the *dhyāna-mudrā* on a *siṁhāsana*. The pedestal has the figures of rampant lions on its extreme ends and a princely figure standing inside the periphery of an oblong and spoked *cakra*. On his either side are the reliefs of two Jinas with shaven heads, sitting in the *dhyāna-mudrā*. The princely figure in the *cakra* was identified by Chanda with Ariṣṭanemi (Neminātha as a young prince), but according to Shah the figure represents the *cakra-puruṣa*.[2]

Coeval with this image in style are the six other Jina figures carved on the southern wall inside the eastern Sonbhaṇḍār cave.[3] Of these six reliefs, five are carved on one side of the entrance to the cave (plate 51B) and the sixth stands in isolation on the other side. The first five empanelled figures are carved in a row in which the first two represent Padmaprabha, the sixth Jina, the third Pārśvanātha, the twenty-third Jina, and the last two Mahāvīra. The whole composition highlights a contrast in portraying the static and stereotyped Jina figures seated or standing juxtaposed to the frolicking figures of attendants caught in various stances of movement. The whole composition is laid out symmetrically; the different Jina figures are properly framed and combine to make a frieze in the form of an extended panel. The symmetry of this panel is broken only by the two diminutive lotuses below the first two figures of Padmaprabha, but this does not have any adverse effect on the total artistry of the composition. These reliefs have an almost identical scheme of presentation as regards the accessory details, and the deviation manifests itself only in the presentation of the individual cognizances of the different Jinas. So the Jinas are either standing or seated and in all the cases accompanied in tiers from top to bottom by (a) flying figures on either side holding garlands or simply folding the hands in adoration, (b) attendant figures standing on each side, holding *caurī* (c) two seated Jinas, one each on either side, in *dhyāna-mudrā*. Between the niched figures of these seated Jinas below, the

[1] Chanda, *op. cit.*, pp. 125-26.
[2] Shah, *op. cit.*, 1955, p. 14.
[3] Kuraishi and Ghosh, *op. cit.*, p. 26, pl. VII B.

pedestals carry some more details. The reliefs of Padmaprabha have lotuses, that of Pārśvanātha has two elephants facing opposite directions and separated by a beautifully-carved *cakra*; Mahāvīra, on the other hand, has lions flanking similar *cakras*.

The lonely sixth relief on the other side of the entrance is larger but badly mutilated. Even so, it presents the same breadth of style as seen in the other figures. It has certain elaborations in that a *kalpa-vṛkṣa* is carved on the top of the Jina's halo and the *āsana* has a well-spread *āstaraka*. The tree has the distinctive bunches of *aśoka*-flower and leaves.

On the other hand, the three standing sculptures of Jinas in the cell containing the Neminātha image on the Vaibhāra hill mentioned above (p. 123) seem to belong to a different tradition.[1] Among these, one image has a depiction of conches flanking a lotus and thus represents Neminātha; the other, though smaller and less articulate in accessory details, is nevertheless similar to the preceding. These two Jina images exhibit a configuration of oval face, neatly arranged hair in spirals, the *kāyotsarga-mudrā* and an enriched ornamentation of halo throughout the course of its circular sweep. The *parikara* of these images has *caurī* and garland-bearing figures in both the sides of the Jinas. The third image of this group is the smallest and simplest and shows the Jina standing along with the *caurī*-bearers under a parasol consisting of triple layers of inverted lotus. This image is corroded and its finer details have disappeared. Yet another image of this class, with the same refrain of style, is now in the Gopikrishna Kanoria collection at Patna. This image represents Pārśvanātha and in the details of *parikara* is typically Gupta in style. However the delineation of the face is at variance in style with the rest of the figure. This might have been due to a recutting of the image at some later date.

BRONZES

Next to these are the six metal images of Jinas from Chausa, now in the Patna Museum, displaying a simple charm and felicity of expression and different as a class from those found in the western India.[2] Among these, two

[1] These images have been usually assigned to the Gupta period, cf. Chanda, *op. cit.*, p. 126, Kuraishi and Ghosh, *op. cit*, p. 26; Shah, *op. cit.*, p. 14. Bruhn, *op. cit.*, pp. 222-23, puts one of them under the category of medieval sculptures. The flattened torso, the sharp joints and a less subtle transition from one plane to the other indicate that the images have to some degree the rudiments of stylistic features which encumbered the art of the 'transitional period'.

[2] For the western Indian bronzes, see Shah, *op. cit.*, 1955, p. 16; also chapter 13 below.

(plate 54) represent the eighth Jina Candraprabha, as is clear from his cognizance—crescent—shown at the top middle of the *śiraś-cakra*. The other two (plates 55A and 56) represent the first Jina Ṛṣabhadeva, so identified on account of the locks of hair falling down on his shoulders. The remaining two (one illustrated, plate 55B) remain unidentified due to corrosion and the consequent lack of details. All the Jinas are shown seated in *dhyāna-mudrā* on a pedestal and uniformly have the *śrīvatsa*-symbol in the middle of their chest and a *śiraś-cakra* at the back. Where the *śiraś-cakra* has now disappeared the tenon at the back of the image signifies its original presence. The images of Ṛṣabhadeva are perfectly proportioned and show an ovoid and robust face, ears with lengthened lobes, neck with regular striations and a masterly coalescence of planes from the shoulder to the waist and below, with every plane distinctly defined yet smoothly merging into each other. In these features they appear to be superior to the images of Candraprabha in spite of the greater ornateness of the latter. However, the palms in the Ṛṣabhadeva images are disproportionately large and the toes are splayed. The hair is shown flowing sideways and has a parting at the middle of the scalp; locks of hair are shown falling on the shoulder in ripples.

One of the images of Candraprabha (plate 54A) has certain elaborations in its cast. The Jina is seated in *dhyāna-mudrā* on a rectangular double-tiered pedestal, between two ornamental pillars forming a niche. The tops of the pillars carry grotesquely-designed *makara-mukhas*, with their tongues sticking out in a loop. Behind his head there is a semicircular *śiraś-cakra* with pellets on its rim, a halo-formation consisting of lotus-petals and a crescent at the top. The Jina has a cranial bump (*uṣṇīṣa*), long ear-lobes and, curiously, the *keśa-vallarī* falling on the shoulders as on the Ṛṣabhadeva's images. The face of Candraprabha is round, the torso diminutive and shoulders and arms a little drawn. The portion below the waist, i.e. the turning and intertwining of the legs and hands in the lap, is not sharply defined. The other image of Candraprabha (plate 54B) is smaller but is similar to the preceding one. One of the unidentified images (plate 55B) also appears similar to this class in the details of the pedestal rising in two tiers and in the delineation of the lower parts of the body.

Taken together, these bronzes display stylistic differences, particularly in delineating facial features as well as the body as a whole. And the images of Candraprabha appear to be later than those of Ṛṣabhadeva.[1]

[1] Cf. Shah, *op. cit.*, 1955, p. 13, for his opinion on some of the Chausa bronzes.

TERRACOTTAS

In relation to these sculptures, the terracottas lack in artistry and seem to repeat an archaism which they had inherited. Among those from Vaiśālī[1] there are about a dozen figurines identified with Naigameṣa,[2] the Jaina deity of child-birth. They are characterized by an animal-face with goat-like features and long dangling ears having either pierced holes or slit-marks. Generally the mouth is indicated by a deep-cut slit just below a hooked nose.[3] Three types are evident in the Vaiśālī terracottas of Naigameṣa viz., female, male and couples, either with a child or without it; among these the female type is predominant. In the similar figurines of Kushan period horns over ears are an added feature.[4] The excavations at sites IV and V of Kumrahar have supplied a dozen of such figurines belonging to Period IV (*circa* A.D. 300-450) and Period V (*circa* A.D. 450-600). They represent the male and female varieties and are similar in style to the Vaiśālī specimens. All these terracotta figurines are hand-made and have nothing like the sweeping charm of Ahicchatrā Naigameṣa figures.[5] Cursorily hand-modelled, archaic and crude, they appear to belong to some hieratical tradition which had not been transformed by the touch of the classical plasticity and sophistication. There is, however, a suggestion that among the Paharpur terracottas some 'older panels might have been readjusted when the Jaina monastery was reshaped during the eighth century.'[6] Paharpur, it is said, witnessed a transformation of art-idiom from Gupta to medieval,[7] but the extant finds fail to reveal Jaina affiliations of any such art-activity.

R.N. MISRA

[1] Krishna Deva and Mishra, *op. cit.*, p. 51, plate XII C 7: Sinha and Roy, *op. cit.*, pp. 162-63, pl. LII, figs. 1-9. Sinha and Roy classify Period IV of Vaiśālī, to which these terracottas belong, as chronologically covering *circa* A.D. 200-600.

[2] For Harinegameṣa, see U.P. Shah in *Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art*, XIX, 1952-53, pp. 19 ff.

[3] V.S. Agrawala in *Ancient India*, 4, 1947-48, p. 134.

[4] Krishna Deva and Mishra, *op. cit.*, p. 51.

[5] Agrawala, *op. cit.*, pp. 134-37, plate XLVIII A.

[6] C.C. Dasgupta, *Origin and Development of Clay Sculptures in India*, Calcutta 1961, pp. 229-34.

[7] Stella Kramarisch, *Indian Sculptures*, London, p. 216.

CHAPTER 12

CENTRAL INDIA

THREE INSCRIBED IMAGES OF TĪRTHAṄKARAS, FOUND IN A VILLAGE CALLED Durjanpur in Vidisha District of Madhya Pradesh and now in the local museum at Vidiśā, have recently been brought to light.[1] The inscriptions appear on the pedestals of the Tīrthaṅkaras who are seated in *padmāsana* and *dhyāna-mudrā*; the pedestals have a winged lion at each end and a *dharma-cakra*, with the rim facing, in the centre. Two of the images (plates 57 and 58) have their faces mutilated, but they have a male standing *caurī*-bearer on each side and a halo behind the head. The haloes have a scalloped border on the outer edge and a beautiful open multipetalled lotus in the centre. The halo of the third image (plate 59) is almost ruined, and it is not certain whether there were standing attendants on the sides. But the smiling face of the Jina is partly preserved. The head, with the nose, eye and forehead mutilated, shows ears with long pierced lobes. The *śrīvatsa*-mark is clearly visible on the chest of all the three images. The torso of each Jina shows a well-developed healthy chest which is characteristic of Gupta sculpture. The position of the elbow and arm, held farther away on each side from the torso, is peculiar and makes a sort of triangle of the whole image, with the head as the apex and the hands as the two sides of a triangle. This seems to be the ideal mode of *yogic padmāsana* posture in this period, at least in Jaina meditations.

These sculptures are especially significant not only of the history of the Jaina church and iconography but also for the history of Gupta art. The inscription of the image on plate 57A is better preserved (plate 57B) than those on the other two. According to this inscription, Mahārājādhirāja Rāmagupta got these images prepared (and set up) on the advice of Celu-Kṣamaṇa, the good son of Golakyāntyā, and pupil Ācārya Sarppasena Kṣamaṇa, the grand-pupil of Candra-Kṣamācārya-Kṣamaṇa-Śramaṇa, who was a *pāṇipātrika*, i.e. one who used the hollows of his palms as alms-and drinking-bowl.

[1] G.S. Gai, 'Three Inscriptions of Rāmagupta', *Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda*, XVIII, 1969, pp. 247-51; also Gai, 'Three inscriptions of Rāmagupta', *Epigraphia Indica*, XXXVIII, 1970, pp. 46-49.

Obviously Ācārya Candra was a Digambara, perhaps of the Yāpanīya-*saṅgha*, since we know that Śivārya, the author of the Digambara *Bhagavatī-ārādhanā*, calls himself *pāṇidalabhoī*, i.e. one who eats from the palms of his hands. Sarppasena may be a variant of Nāgasena, since the practice of using synonyms in names is not unknown to ancient literature.

Since Rāmagupta is here called Mahārājādhirāja, it is obvious that he was not a small feudatory chief. Copper coins of a Rāmagupta have been found in the Vidiśā region. The palaeography of the three inscriptions, all referring to Mahārājādhirāja Rāmagupta, suggests a fourth-century date, which makes probable the identification of the ruler with the Gupta ruler Rāmagupta, referred to in the *Devī-Candragupta* of Viśākhadatta as the elder brother of Candragupta II.

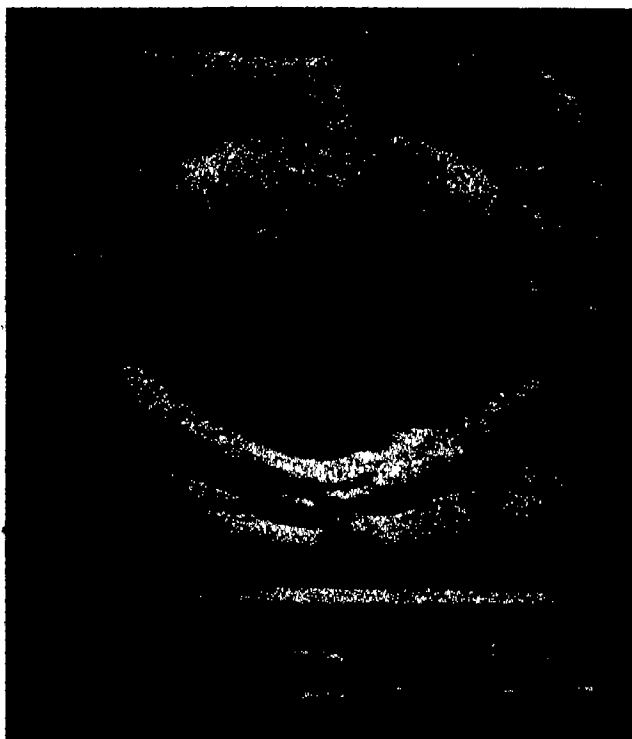
The pedestals show only the *Dharma-cakra* in the centre, without the two deer flanking its sides.[1] Plate 58 represents the *dharma-cakra* only in the centre of pedestal. No *lāñchana* or recognizing symbol of a Jina is shown on the pedestals.

The rendering of the attendant figures, with the *ekāvalī* in their necks, is well-done. The two attendants on plate 57A show the typical Kushan head-dress with the *cūḍāmaṇi*-motif in the centre, while the attendant on plate 58 shows a sort of conical cap reminiscent of Śaka caps.

These figures, which should be dated to *circa* A.D. 370, within the short rule of Rāmagupta, offer a definite proof that the various *lāñchanas* (cognizances) of the Jinas, even if they were evolved in this period, had not as yet secured any place on the sculptures of the Tīrthaṅkaras.

In one of the Udaigiri caves (Cave 20) near Vidiśā is found an inscription of the Gupta year 106 (reign of Kumāragupta I), refering to the making of a figure of Pārśvanātha, 'awe-inspiring on account of the horrible fangs of a snake carved over his head'.[2] The relief-sculpture is now regarded as lost, the sculpture now existing in the cave being of a much later date. However, it is

[1] The two deer flanking the sides of a *dharma-cakra* do not appear on Jaina images of the Kushan period at Mathurā nor on the pedestal of the Neminātha image installed in the age of Candragupta at Rajgir (above, plate 53). The motif seems to have been introduced later under Buddhist influence.

[2] For inscribed Jaina sculptures of the Gupta age, see J. F. Fleet, *Inscriptions of the Early Gupta Kings*, Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum, III, Calcutta, 1888, pp. 258 ff.; R. D. Banerji, *Age of the Imperial Guptas*, Banares, 1933., pp, 104, 106, 108, 129, and pl. xviii; U.P. Shah, *Studies in Jaina Art*, Banaras, 1956, pp. 14-15.

A. Durjanpur : a Tīrthaṅkara (Vidisha Museum)

B. Durjanpur : inscription on pedestal of above

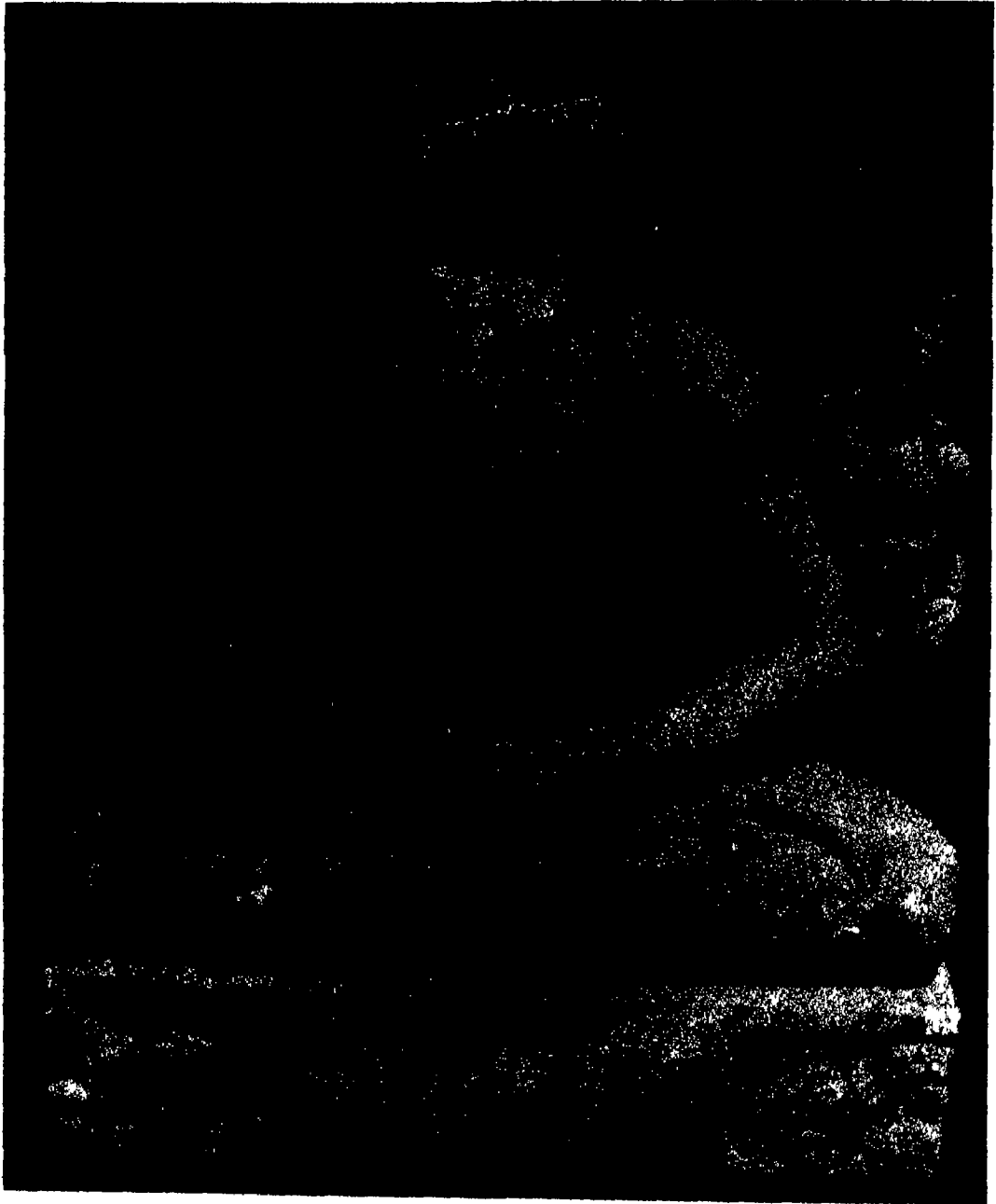
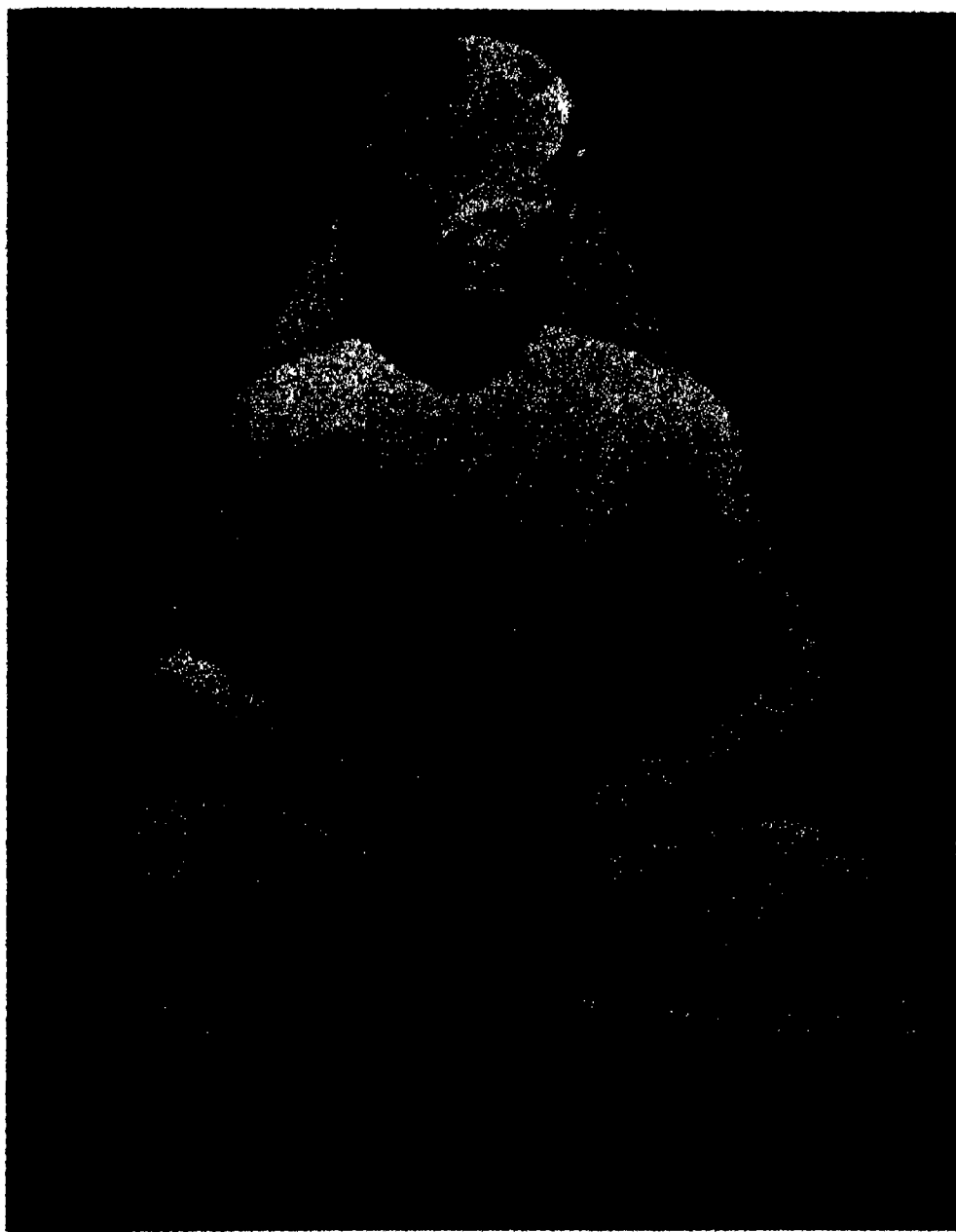



PLATE 57

Durjanpur : a Tirthaṅkara (Vidisha Museum)

PLATE 58

Durjanpur : a Tīrthaṅkara (Vidisha Museum)

PLATE 59

A. Udaigiri : Tīrthaṅkara reliefs on cave-wall and loose (later) Tīrthaṅkara Pārśvanātha

B. Gwalior : rock-cut Tīrthaṅkaras

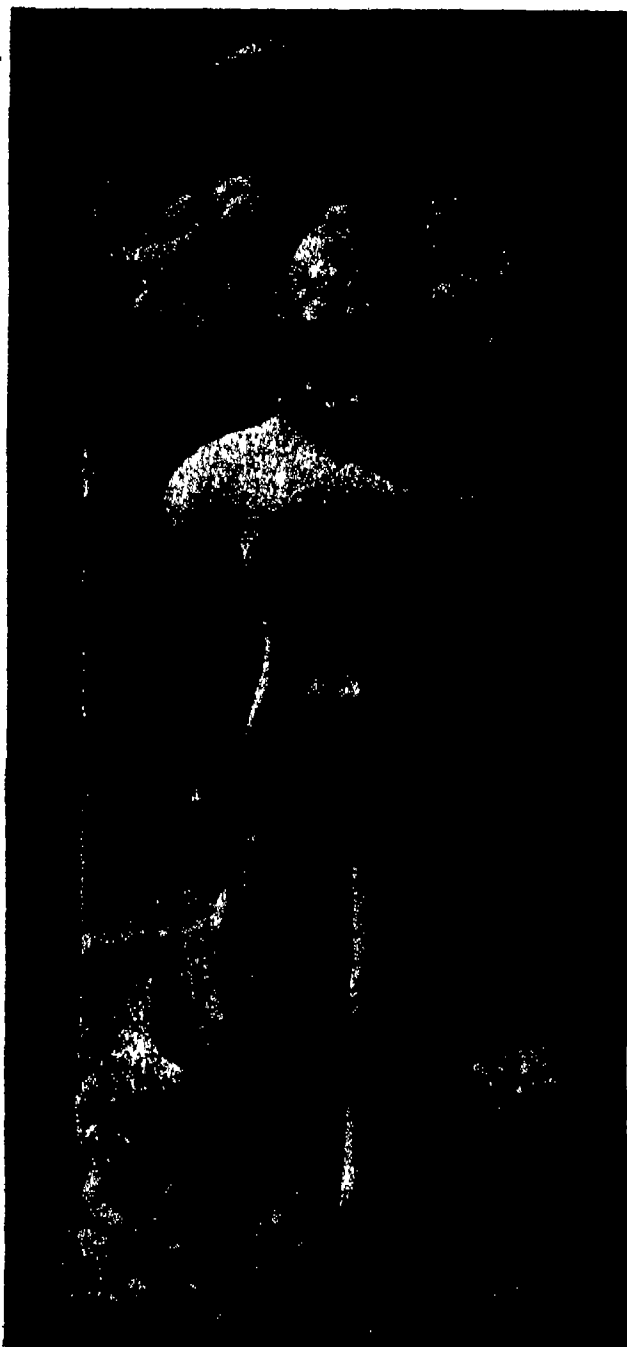
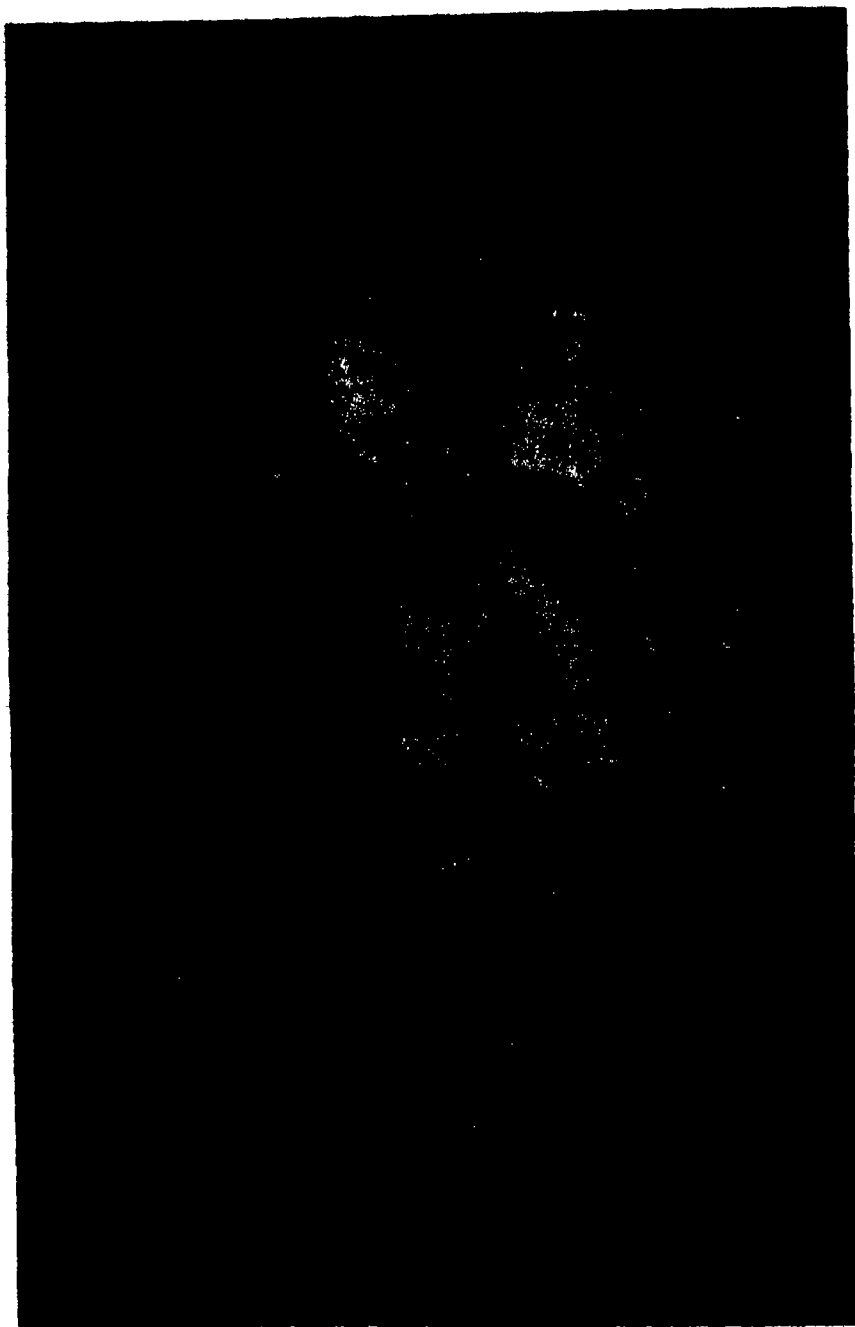



PLATE 60

Vidiśā : a Tīrthaṅkara (Gwalior Museum)

PLATE 61

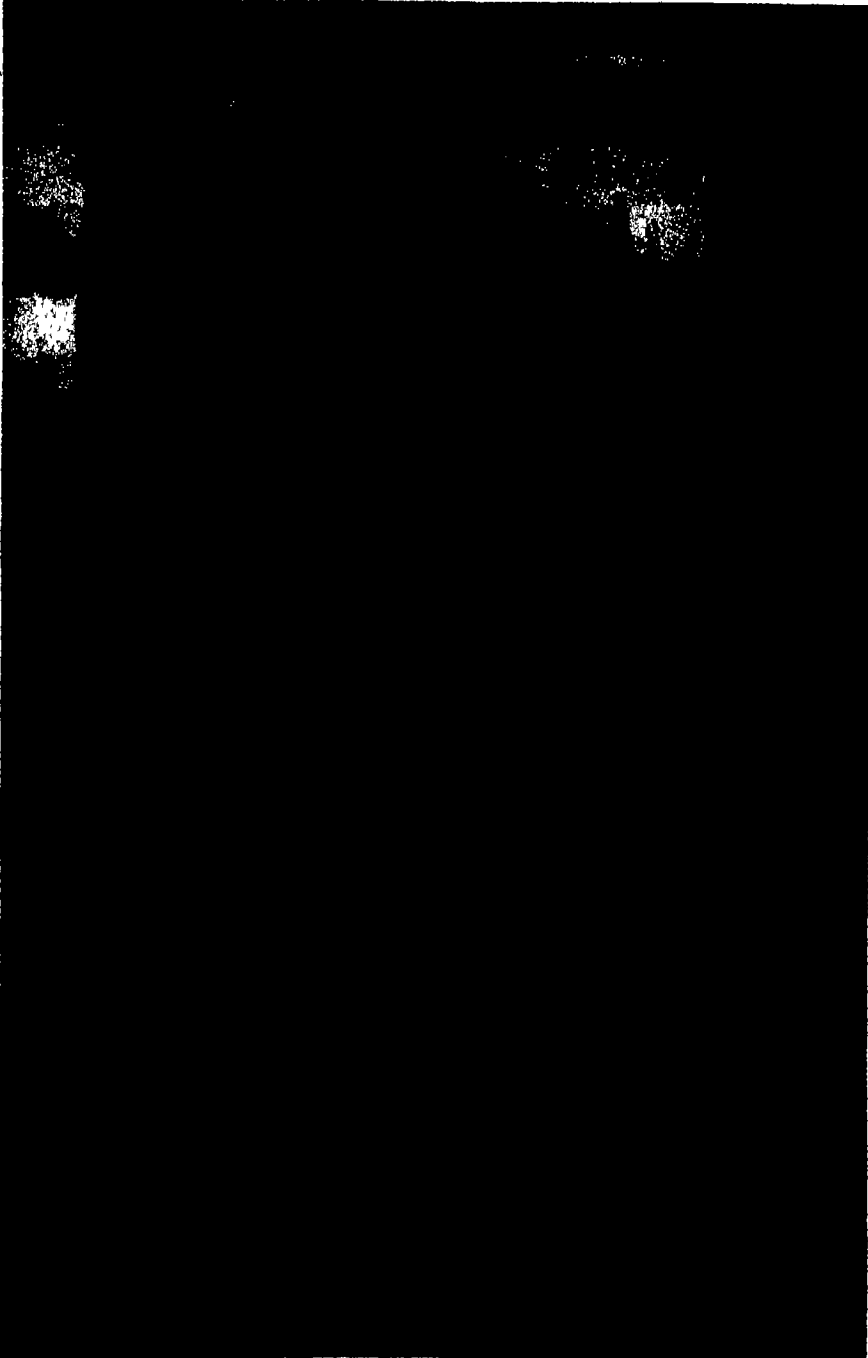
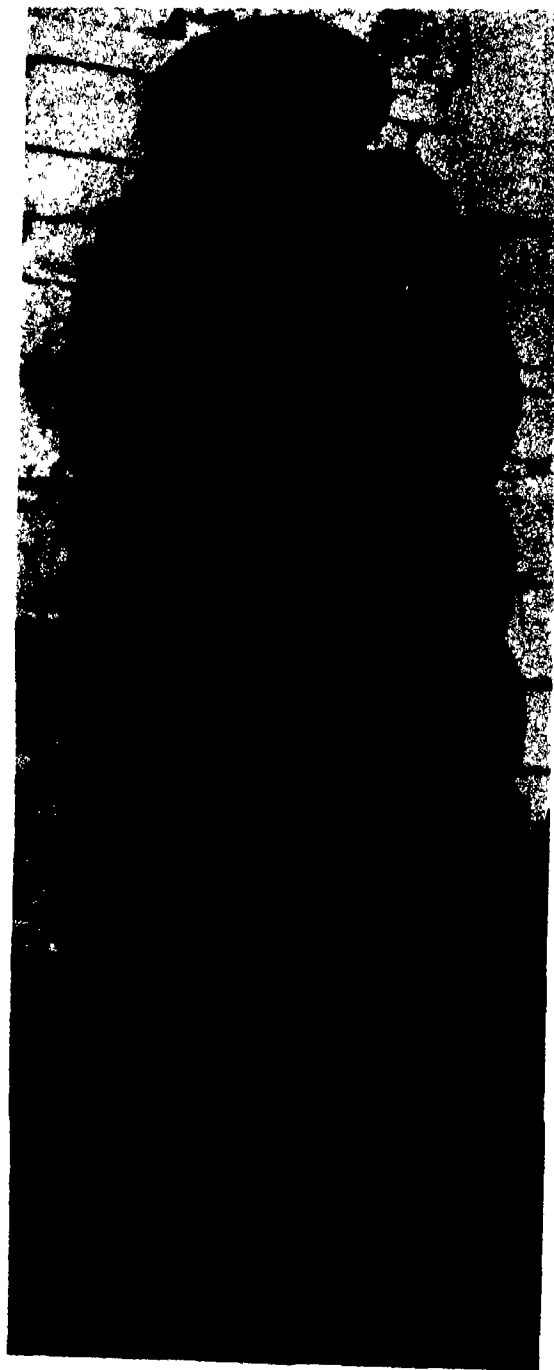
Sira Pahari : Tīrthankara Mahāvīra

PLATE 62

Sira Pahari : Tīrthaṅkara Ṛṣabhanātha

PLATE 63

Sira Pahari : Tīrthaṅkara Pārśvanātha

PLATE 64

not quite clear from the text of the inscription if the image of Pārśvanātha was a loose image in the cave, since the word used is *acīkarat*, i.e., caused to be made, the sense of setting up or installing an image being not there. The inscription might have referred to the now partly-defaced wall-relief of Pārśvanātha (plate 60A).[1]

An interesting sculpture of a standing Tīrthaṅkara, having two flying garland-bearers near the head, in front of the circular halo with a lotus in the centre and a border of small rosettes on the outer edge, and two half-seated devotees (heads lost) near the legs, was discovered at Besnagar (Vidiśā). It is now preserved in the Gwalior Museum.[2] The very long arms reaching the knees, broad and somewhat rounded shoulders, the modelling of the torso, etc., suggest a date of *circa* late sixth century. The date is further suggested by the classical hair-dress and treatment of the flying garland-bearers in front of the halo, on two sides of the Jina's head (plate 61).[3]

At Sira Pahari, a hill near Nachna, the site of a famous Śiva shrine of the Gupta period in Paṇna District, Madhya Pradesh, is found a group of Jaina sculptures of the Gupta age, along with a few later ones.[4] Plate 62 illustrates a seated Tīrthaṅkara with a large halo behind the head and a pair of flying Gandharvas on each side near the top of the halo. On each side of the Tīrthaṅkara is a standing *cāmara-dhara* (flywhisk-bearer) Yakṣa with a crown having a front-ornament reminiscent of the typical Kushan head-dress from which it is evolved. The treatment of the bodies of these two Yakṣas, the *ekāvalī* neck-ornaments of the Gandharvas and Yakṣas, the vigorous treatment of the Gandharvas, reminiscent of those from Sondni, Aihole, etc., suggest an early Gupta age for this sculpture, *circa* late fourth or early fifth century. A similar treatment of the motif on the crown is found on the head-dress of the Nāga and two or three small standing figures in the famous Varāha-panel in one of the caves at Udaigiri. The treatment of the head and body of the Jina himself, allied to that of Mathurā sculptures of *circa* fourth century, further supports

[1] See Hiralal Jain, *Bhāratīya Saṁskṛti men Jaina-Dharma kā Yoga-dāna*, Bhopal, 1962, p. 391; Klaus Fischer, *Caves and Temples of the Jains*, Aliganj, 1956, p. 6 and plate.

[2] Shah, *op. cit.*, fig. 24; negative 786 of the Department of Archaeology, old Gwalior State. These negatives are now with the Department of Archaeology, Madhya Pradesh, possibly stored in the Gwalior Museum.

[3] *Vikrama-Smṛti-Grantha* (Hindi), Gwalior, V.S. 2000 (A.D. 1944-45), plate facing p. 703.

[4] These sculptures are described by Niraj Jain in *Anekānta* (Hindi), Delhi, XV, 19, pp. 222-23, with two plates. They are reported to be lying in two caves on a hill by the side of a lake near the Brāhmaṇical shrines at Nachna. I have described here only those images whose photographs were available with the Archaeological Survey of India, Northern Circle, Agra.

this date. On the pedestal are shown miniature lions at the ends with a *dharma-cakra* in the centre. On the analogy of the pedestal of a sculpture of a standing Ṛṣabhanātha from this site, discussed below, one might suggest that this seated Tīrthaṅkara represents Mahāvīra with the lion-cognizance.[1]

On the pedestal of the standing Ṛṣabhanātha from Sira Pahari (plate 63) we find a *dharma-cakra* and two worshippers on the two sides. The sacred wheel is shown with the rim facing us as on pedestals of Jaina sculptures of the Kushan period from Mathurā. Again, at each end of the pedestal of this sculpture is shown the typical Indian bull, which is the cognizance of Ṛṣabhanātha. In later Jaina sculptures lions are shown at the two ends of pedestals, suggesting a *siṁhāsana*, while *dharma-cakras* are flanked by two deer as in Buddhist sculptures. But in this sculpture the bull-cognizance is thus shown, while there are no deer flanking the *dharma-cakra*. This suggests clearly that this sculpture belongs to an early stage of introduction of cognizances, when the position of a cognizance of a Jina was not yet finally fixed. On this analogy the sculpture illustrated on plate 62 may be identified as representing Mahāvīra.

The style of both these sculptures is that of transition from typical Kushan types of the classical Gupta idiom. But the Mahāvīra image is a beautiful specimen of art, the face especially being exquisitely modelled. Of the same period and perhaps only slightly earlier is another sculpture from the same site, that of a standing Pārśvanātha, without any drapery and having a huge serpent coiled behind the Jina's whole figure and making a canopy of snake-hoods over the Jina's head (plate 64).

It seems that near the Brāhmaṇical centre at Nachna was a Jaina centre at Sira Pahari during the Gupta period. Further exploration may yield more Jaina vestiges not only at this place but also at other sites around.

Joanna Williams has recently brought to light two beautiful Jina images of the Gupta age, now preserved in Rajendra Udyan, Panna, Madhya Pradesh,

[1] Cognizances of Tīrthaṅkaras are not found on sculptures of the Kushan period from Kaṅkālī-ṭīlā, Mathurā. They do appear on the sculptures of the Gupta period at Rajgir, but their position was not finally fixed even in the fifth century, cf., for example, the image of Neminātha on the Vaibhāra hill, Rajgir, Ramaprasad Chanda, *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report, 1925-26*, Calcutta, 1928, pp. 125 ff.; Shah, *op. cit.*, p. 14, fig. 18. [Also above, plate 53.—Editor.] Here two conches are placed on each side of the *dharma-cakra* in the centre of the pedestal. The conch is the cognizance of Neminātha.

but reported to have been brought from Nachna.[1] Plate I of Williams shows a Jina sitting in *padmāsana* on a cushion placed on a pedestal. Near each end of the pedestal is a lion, while in the centre is *dharma-cakra* with the rim facing us. On each side of the *dharma-cakra* is a kneeling worshipper, perhaps a *gaṇa-dhara* (first disciple of a Jina) or a monk.

The second figure shows in all four worshippers in front of the pedestal. The face and head are better preserved and the modelling of the shoulders and torso is in the best Gupta tradition. So far as the expression of the face is concerned, the image ranks amongst the best examples of Jina sculptures of the Gupta period, though the sculpture is perhaps slightly later than the one on plate I of Williams. The resemblance of these Jinas with the famous Sarnath Buddha has already been noted by Williams.

There must have been many centres producing Jina images in the Gupta period, as is demonstrated by the Mathurā Museum specimen B. 6,[2] etc., by the Nachna-Sira Pahāṛī Tīrthaṅkaras, the now-defaced Pārśvanātha in the Udaigiri cave and the three images dedicated in the reign of Rāmagupta near Vidiśā. The Vidiśā images are no doubt heavier and more muscular.

It is not unlikely that the beginning of the Jaina settlement in Deogarh Fort, Jhansi District, was almost contemporaneous with the famous Daśāvatāra temple of the Gupta age at Deogarh. In his study of the Jina images at Deogarh Klaus Bruhn has published at least two images (his fig. 20, image 8, and fig. 21, image 9),[3] which have been suspected by Williams to be early Gupta of the Mathurā group.[4] The affinity with the Mathurā style is obvious, but whereas fig. 20 (image 8) of Bruhn may date from the fifth century, his fig. 21 (image 9) is indeed later, as is clear from the rendering of the scarf and modelling of the figures of the attendant flywhisk-bearers. This figure may belong to the end of the sixth century. Even though the figure of the Tīrthaṅkara is reminiscent of early Gupta Mathurā traits, it is difficult to assign it to the early Gupta age.

Two rock-cut reliefs at Gwalior (plate 60B), one showing Tīrthaṅkara standing in meditation (*kāyotsarga-mudrā*) and the other representing a Jina meditating in the *padmāsana*-posture, seem to date from the very end of this

[1] Joanna Williams, 'Two new Gupta Jina images', *Oriental Art*, XVIII, 4, Winter, 1972, pp. 378-80.

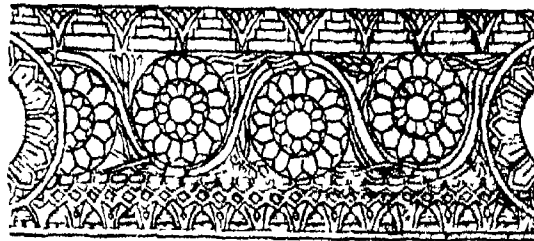
[2] [Above, chapter 10.—Editor.]

[3] Klaus Bruhn, *The Jina Images of Deogarh*, Leiden, 1969.

[4] Williams, *op. cit.*, p. 380, n. 11.

period. The attendants of the sitting Jina stand on full-blown lotuses held by dwarfs (?) looking like thick stalks. Similar treatment of Yakṣas standing on lotuses with long stalks is found on two beautiful sculptures, B. 6 and B. 7, in the Mathurā Meseum.[1] The treatment of the figure of the standing Jina is comparable with the treatment of two standing Jinas on the Vaibhāra hill, Rājgir. Both these Tīrthaṅkara figures from Gwalior follow the Gupta idiom. The attendants wear decorated cap-like crowns and *ekāvalī* neck-ornaments. The *parikara* of the Jinas is still simple and not elaborate as in post-Gupta sculptures.

UMAKANT P. SHAH

[1] Shah, *op. cit.*, figs. 25 and 27. [Also mentioned above, chapter 10, and one illustrated, plate 46.—Editor.]

CHAPTER 13

WEST INDIA

EVEN THOUGH VERY FEW JAINA VESTIGES OF THE PERIOD UNDER consideration have been found, it is quite certain from the evidence of literature that there were many Jaina centres both in central and western India during this period. The paucity of Jaina finds of this period is not a phenomenon observed only in western India; even in Magadha, the land of Mahāvīra's birth, beyond a few sculptures from Rajgir hardly anything that can be definitely assigned to this period has been discovered.

The early Jaina tradition regarding the popularity of Jainism in central India (Ujjain) and western India (Sindhu-Sauvīra) has already been dealt with in Chapter 8, where it has also been shown that Jaina monks seem to have lived in Saurāṣṭra, near Girnar-Junagadh, during Kṣatrapa rule. We shall, therefore, expect to discover in future Jaina relics of the third, fourth and later centuries from Rajasthan, Gujarat and the Deccan, especially Junagadh, Valabhī and Broach in Gujarat and from near Śūrpāraka or modern Sopara near Bombay and from the site of Pratiṣṭhānapura.

In the beginning of the fourth century A.D., we find two Jaina Councils meeting almost simultaneously, at Mathurā under Ārya Skandila and at Valabhī in Saurāṣṭra under Ārya Nāgārjuna. The Śvetāmbara canonical works, as available today, often prefer the textual readings of the Mathurā Council. Again, there was a second Council at Valabhī under the chairmanship of Devarddhi-gaṇi Kṣamāśramaṇa to edit and preserve the Jaina canon. The present Śvetāmbara canon is supposed to follow this second Valabhī Council which met in the year 980 after Mahāvīra's *nirvāṇa*, i.e. in A.D. 453. The necessity for holding a second Council at Valabhī within a couple of centuries when the canons had already been written in the fourth century, is still a problem of investigation. There can be one plausible solution to this problem. Already in A.D. 83 (according to the Śvetāmbaras), or in A.D. 80 (according to the Digambaras), the Digambara sect arose under the leadership of Śivabhūti, a disciple of Ārya Kṛṣṇaśramaṇa. The Śvetāmbara-Digambara differences were formerly limited to a few problems, the principal one being

the use of garments by Jaina monks. While a number of *kulas* and *gaṇas* found recorded in the *Sthavirāvali* of the Śvetāmbara Jaina canon *Kalpa-sūtra* and the *Nandi-sūtra* (fifth century) are already mentioned in the inscriptions on the sculptures from Kaṅkālī-ṭīlā, Mathurā, all the standing Tīrthaṅkara images bearing such inscriptions are carved nude. All the sitting images of the Kushan period from Mathurā may also be supposed to be representing the Tīrthaṅkaras in the Digambara way, since there is no trace of any drapery on such images, even though the *membrum virile* is not clearly shown as in later Digambara sculptures.

The quarrel about nudity or otherwise of Jaina monks was reflected in the worship of images also. When the Śvetāmbara-Digambara differences became very acute,[1] all references in the Jaina canon not convenient to either of these sects were omitted, in the new edition of the Jaina canon in the second Valabhī Council so far as the Śvetāmbaras were concerned, and in the works taught by Bhūtabalī in Saurāṣṭra so far as Digambaras were concerned.

It seems that before the second Valabhī Council all Jaina Tīrthaṅkāra sculptures were carved without any drapery. The beautiful sculpture of seated Neminātha carved in the age of Candragupta II in the Jaina shrine at Rajgir[1a] does not seem to have any drapery; the same is the case with the standing images in the same shrine. The earliest image showing a *dhotī* worn by a Tīrthaṅkara is a standing bronze of Ṛṣabhanātha from the Akota hoard in Gujarat (plates 65A and 66A). This is a very beautiful bronze, about 76 cm. in height, unfortunately partly mutilated and with the pedestal lost. But the modelling is beautiful and in the chaste Gupta tradition, comparable with the exquisitely-cast copper Buddha from Sultanganj. In spite of the heavy damage, the image remains one of the finest Jaina bronzes from north India. The half-closed silver-inlaid eyes indicate the Jina in blissful meditation. The lower lip, which, according to a *mahā-puruṣa-lakṣaṇa*, should be coral in colour, is inlaid with copper. The badly-damaged neck with three folds is again conch-shaped (*kambu-grīva*), an ideal of personal beauty in the Gupta age. The beautifully-modelled torso with broad rounded shoulders and thin waist (*tanuvṛtta-madhya*) also conforms to the Gupta ideals. Hair-locks falling on the shoulders help us to identify him as Ṛṣabhanātha (Ādinātha), the first Tīrthaṅkara. His hands reach the knees, and he is shown young and energetic

[1] U.P. Shah, 'The age of differentiation of Śvetāmbara and Digambara Jaina images', *Bulletin of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay*, I, no. 1, 1950-51, pp. 30 ff.

[[1a] Above, chapter 11, plate 53—Editor.]

with a pleasing countenance as laid down by Varāhamihira.[1] The hair on the head is in schematic curls and an *uṣṇīṣa* is also shown.

Even according to the Digambara tradition noted in the *Bṛhat-kathā* of Hariṣeṇa, the use of drapery by some Jaina monks seems to have started in western India at a place called Kāmbalikā-tīrtha. It is, therefore, not surprising that the earliest Tīrthaṅkara image in the Śvetāmbara fashion (i.e. with a lower garment, *dhotī*), known hitherto, hails from a site in western India, i.e. Akota.[2]

No Jaina antiquities of the third and fourth centuries are known as yet. Of the fifth century, only the bronze figure of Ṛṣbhanātha described above has been found. Of the sixth century, some more Jaina figures are available.

From Valabhī D.R. Bhandarkar discovered five bronze images of standing Tīrthaṅkaras (plate 67A), which are preserved in the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay.[3] On the basis of the partly extant inscriptions on at least two of them, Bhandarkar assigned them to the sixth century A.D. Moreshwar Dikshit read *saṁva 200(+)20(+)* of the Valabhī era (A.D. 538-548) on one of them.[4] The figures show somewhat small or stunted torsos and relatively bigger, heavier heads, which is a characteristic of the early west Indian school.

As stated above (p. 133), already in the fourth century A.D. a Council of the Jainas met in Valabhī, under Ārya Nāgārjuna. Mallavadī, the great Jaina logician and author of the *Dvādaśāra-Nayacakra*, defeated the Buddhists in dispute at Valabhī in *circa* V.S. 414 (A.D. 357). The second Council at Valabhī met in A.D. 453-54. The Jainas grew stronger in western India during this period as is further indicated by the find of these Jaina bronzes from the site of Valabhī. It may be noted that Bhandarkar also discovered a number of coins of Kumāragupta I from the same site.

[1] Cf. *ā-jānu-lamba-bāhuḥ śrīvatsāṅkaḥ praśānta-mūrtiś ca dig-vāsās taruṇo rūpavāṁś ca kāryo' rhatāṁ devaḥ. Bṛhat-saṁhitā*, Bangalore, 1947, LVIII, 45.
The fact that Varāhamihira speaks of a Jina image without any drapery shows that the Śvetāmbara concept of a clothed Jina image had not become popular in his times, and thus was perhaps of a relatively late origin.

[2] U.P. Shah, *Akota Bronzes*, Bombay, 1959, pp. 26, figs. 8a and 8b; *Bṛhat-kathā kośa*, ed. A.N. Upadhye, Singhi Jaina series, 17, 131. pp. 317 ff. and introduction, p. 118.

[3] Shah, *op. cit.*, 1950-51, p. 36; *Sculptures from Samalaji and Roda*, Baroda, 1960, pp. 21-25; *Studies in Jaina Art*, Banaras, 1955, fig. 29.

[4] *Progress Report, Archaeological Survey of Western India, 1914-15*, p. 30; Moreshwar G. Dikshit, *Historic and Economic Studies*, p. 63; H.G. Shastri, *Maitraka-kālīna Gujarāt*, II, pp. 668-72, and p. 671, n. 168.

Of these five bronzes the second image from the right on plate 67A as well as the one on the left end seem to be somewhat cruder. In the absence of any data for earlier bronzes in Gujarat, it is difficult to arrive at any certain conclusion regarding the age, on the evidence of style alone.

Sankalia has suggested that a few Jaina rock-cut reliefs at Dhank in Gujarat date from *circa* early fourth century A.D.[1] Again, for want of sufficient data regarding sculptural art of the third or fourth century in western India, it is not easy to decide the age of these reliefs. But the figure of the Jina and his attendant Yakṣī Ambikā should be assigned to the late sixth or the seventh century rather than the fourth. There is no literary or archaeological evidence so far known to prove the introduction of this Yakṣī in Jaina worship before the sixth century A.D. Stylistically the figures are assignable to the seventh century.

In the Akota hoard are found a few more bronzes which can be assigned to the later part of this period on the evidence of style and sometimes of the script of the inscriptions. Two bronzes of Jīvantasvāmin (one with an inscribed pedestal and the other with the pedestal missing) are of great significance in the history of Jaina art and iconography.[2] *Jīvantasvāmi-pratimā*, as the name implies, was originally a portrait-sculpture fashioned when the Lord (*svāmin*), i.e. Mahāvīra, was alive (*Jīvanta*). According to ancient Jaina traditions, such an image of sandalwood (*gośīrṣa-candana*) was a portrait-statue of Mahāvīra made when he was meditating in his palace, prior to renunciation, and as such Mahāvīra was shown with a crown and ornaments befitting a prince and with a lower garment. Like the Bodhisattva who is to reach Buddhahood, Jīvanta-svāmin represents a conception which may be called Jinasattva.

Plate 65B illustrates the Akota Jīvantasvāmin bronze whose pedestal is lost, and which is partly mutilated. However, the head with crown is completely preserved. The tall *mukuṭa* is evolved from the cylindrical crown (Iranian cap!) of acolyte Viṣṇu (formerly identified as Indra) of the Kushan age at Mathurā.[3] It is four-sided with a *caitya*-window ornament in front and

[1] H.D. Sankalia in *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1938, pp. 427 ff., plates III-IV, *Archaeology of Gujarat*, Bombay, 1941, pp. 160 ff.; Shah, *op. cit.*, 1955, fig. 31. pp. 16-17.

[2] For the origin and conception of the Jīvantasvāmin image, see U.P. Shah, 'A unique Jaina image of Jīvantasvāmi'. *Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda*, I, no. 1, pp. 72-79, and 'Side-lights on the life-time sandalwood image of Mahāvīra'; *ibid.*, I, no. 4, pp. 358-68. See also 'Some more images of Jīvantasvāmi,' *Journal of Indian Museums*, XI, pp. 49-50.

[3] J. Ph. Vogel, *La Sculpture de Mathurā*, Paris and Bruxelles, 1930, pl. XXXIX a and b, p. 46; Shah, *op. cit.*, 1959, figs. 9a, 9b, pp. 26-27.

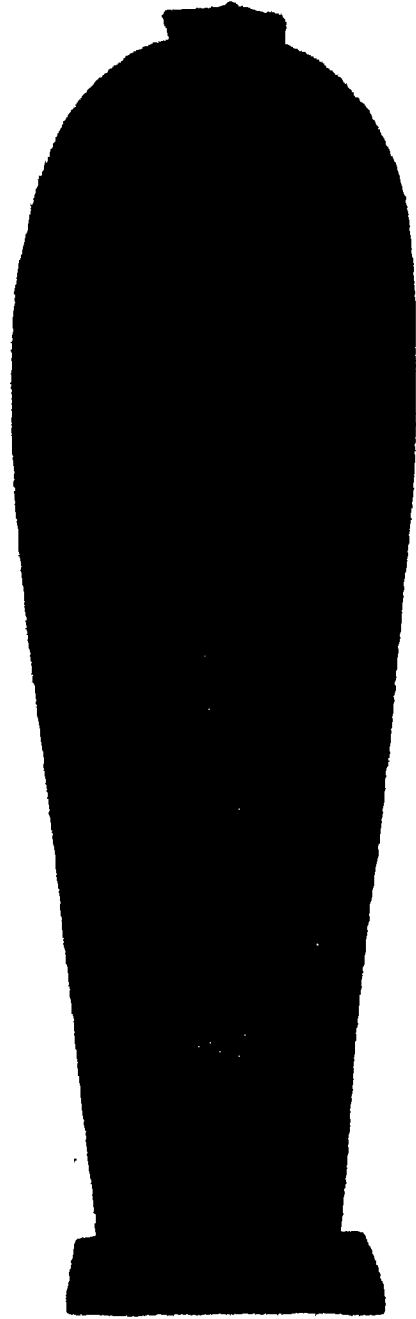
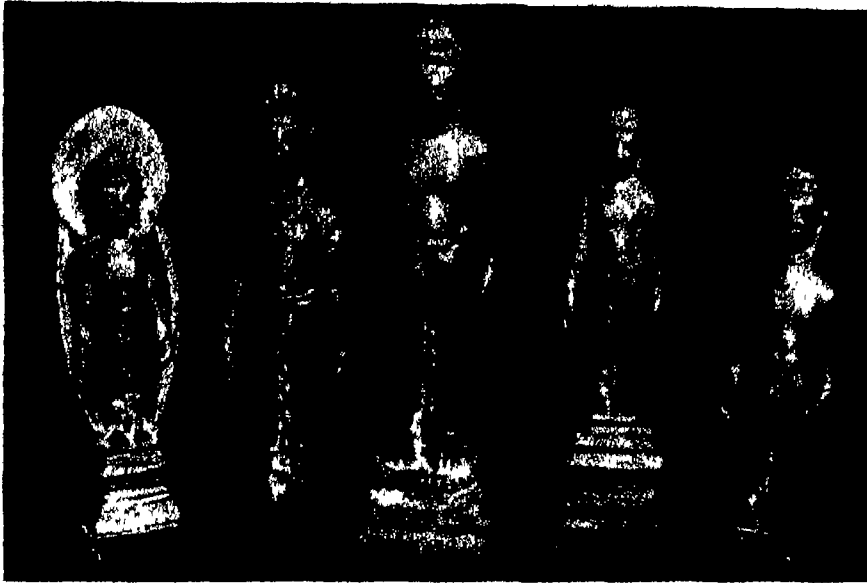
A. Akota : bronze Tirthaṅkara Ṛṣabhanātha (Baroda Museum)

B. Akota : bronze Jīvantasvāmin (Baroda Museum)

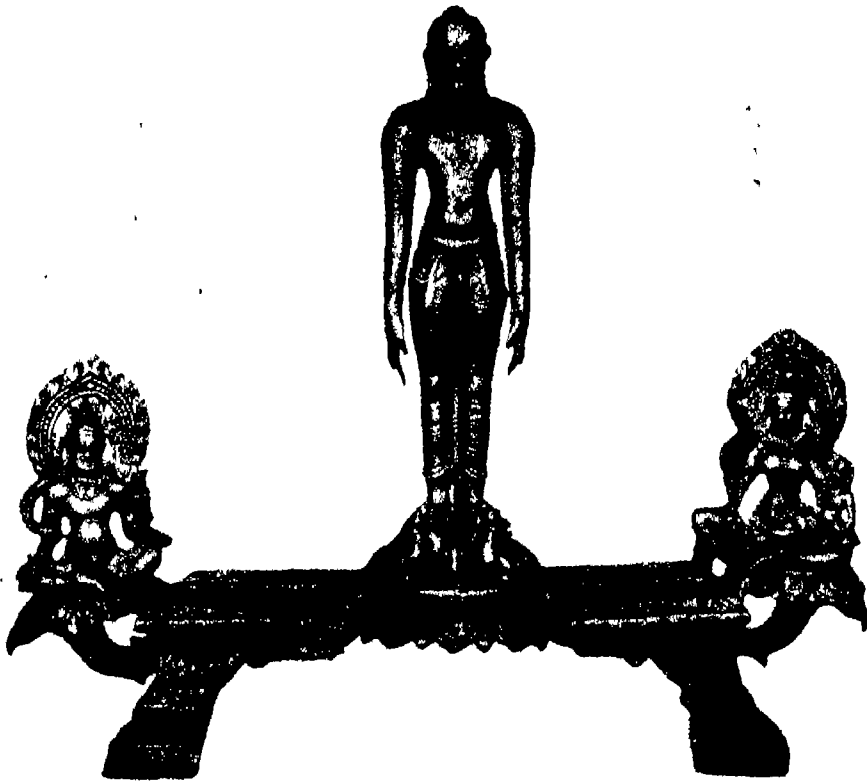
PLATE 65

A. Akota : head of Ṛṣabhanātha, see plate 65A (Baroda Museum)

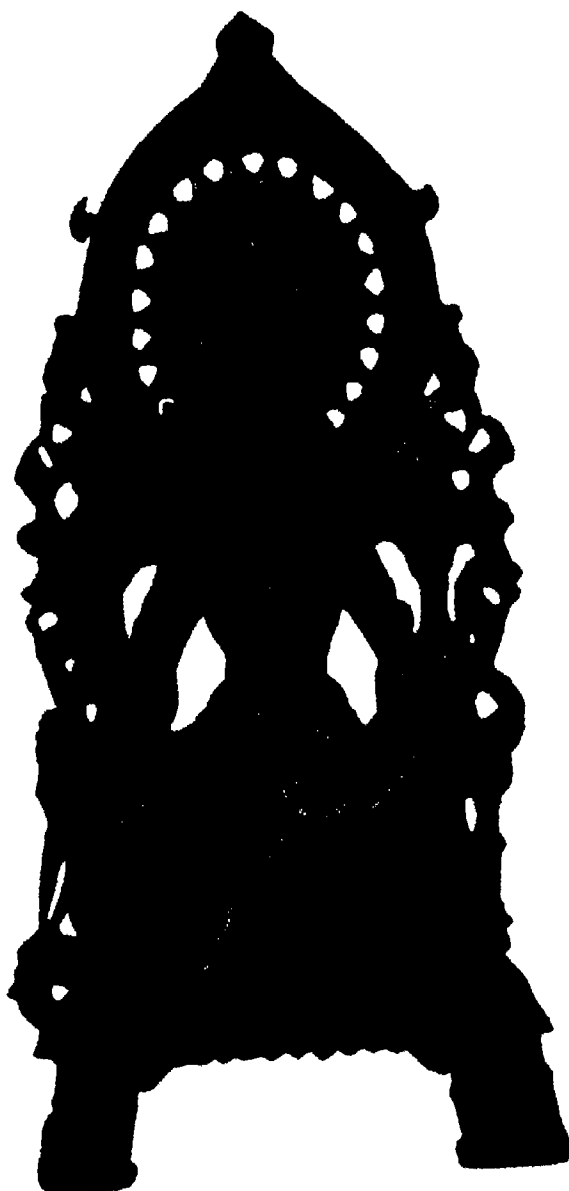
B. Akota : bronze head of a Tīrthaṅkara (Baroda Museum)

PLATE 66

A. Valabhī : group of bronze Tīrthaṅkaras (Prince of Wales Museum)

B. Akota : bronze Tīrthaṅkara Ṛṣabhanātha with Yakṣa and Yakṣī (Baroda Museum)

PLATE 67

A. Akota : bronze Jīvantasvāmin (Baroda Museum)

B. Akota : bronze Yakṣī Ambikā (Baroda Museum)

PLATE 68

the lotus-motif on the sides, back and top. Ringlets of hair fall in three tiers on the shoulders, and stylized curls are seen below the fillet (*paṭṭa*), which is possibly a part of the crown. The lower lip of the Jina is inlaid with copper to indicate coral-like lips; the half-open eyes inlaid with silver betray deep meditation. The broad forehead has a circular *tilaka*-mark. The full blooming young face radiant with spiritual contemplation and joy is perhaps the finest representation of Mahāvīra so far discovered. The *dhotī*, held by a chain-girdle, reaches below the knees. A scarf is tied lower with a hanging loop in the centre. Such a loop is also seen on the figure of Anantaśāyin Viṣṇu at Deogarh. From the central part of the *dhotī* is attached an ornamental scarf (*paryasatka*), one end of which falls in a zigzag pattern and the other end, which covers the left thigh, has peculiar semicircular folds depicting the *vallī*. This type of *dhotī* is an unmistakable peculiarity of the early western school of Indian sculpture. The neck with triple fold, the broad shoulders, long arms, gently swelling chest and slender waist are all characteristics of Gupta art. The armlet, placed near the shoulder rather than in the centre of the upper arm, and its motif of the beaded band with a circular *gavākṣa*-motif above also suggest an early dating. The incised torque design is a characteristic of earlier Kushan sculpture from Mathurā. The broad golden necklace is reminiscent of a similar ornament on the neck of Buddha figures from Gandhāra. The image, therefore, cannot be later than *circa* 500-25 and may be even somewhat earlier.

The second image of Jīvantasvāmin (plate 68A) from Akota shows him standing in meditation on a high pedestal with an inscription in characters of *circa* A.D. 550. The record shows that this was the 'divine gift (*devadharma*), the image of Jīvantasvāmin, of the Jaina lady Nāgīśvarī of Candra-kula.' The figure stands in *kāyotsarga* pose and wears a crown, ear-rings, armlets, bracelets and a *dhotī*. The two ends of the *dhotī* are joined in the centre and fall down in a cursive, wavy line. The armlets consist of a beaded golden band, very much worn out. A circular pearl ring hangs from the right ear-lobe, while the left shows what looks like a *makara-kuṇḍala*. The *trikūṭa* (three-peaked) crown is made up of a central larger leaf with double *cūḍāmaṇi* (crest-jewel) and two smaller side-leaves. There is a beautiful *ekāvalī* around the neck.

The now much-defaced inlaid silver of the eyes, the modelling of the body with broad shoulders, a well-developed chest, somewhat slim waist, beautiful face and the plain oblong halo with a beaded border, together with the palaeography of the inscription, help us in assigning this bronze to *circa* middle sixth century.

Of special interest is another bronze from the Akota hoard representing the first Tīrthaṅkara (Ṛṣabhanātha) in *kāyotsarga-mudrā*. The Jina (height 25 cm.) stands in the centre of a rectangular broad pedestal (33 cm. long, 9 cm. wide); at the ends of the pedestal are attached two broad lotuses on which are figured a Yakṣa and a Yakṣī, one on each side (plate 67B). A back stele with other Tīrthaṅkaras, or with relief of back-seat halo or both had been originally fixed into the holes seen on the upper surface of the pedestal. The figure of Ṛṣabhanātha, modelled in the round, was cast separately and attached to the centre above the figure of the *dharma-cakra* flanked by two beautiful deer. The Jina is identified as Ṛṣabhanātha on account of the hair-locks falling on his shoulders. The schematically-arranged hair and the *uṣṇīṣa* may be noted. The elongated eyes, a broad forehead, a somewhat pointed nose, a plump face with a broad jaw and a short neck on a somewhat stunted torso are also characteristics which appear early in Gujarat and elsewhere in western India. They are local traits of the early western Indian school and need not indicate a later age.

The *dhotī* on the person of the Jina is diaphanous, with the *liṅga* clearly suggested, and has a beautiful tie-dye of flower-design between parallel double lines—an early motif. The shoulders are broad and stiff, the waist slender, the legs and hands well-modelled, and there is a *śrīvatsa*-mark on the chest. All these characteristics suggest a late Gupta age, *circa* 540-50, which is supported by the characters of the inscription on the back which reads: 'Oṁ, this is (the pious gift), in the Nivṛti-*kula*, of Jinabhadra Vācanācārya'. Jinabhadra Vācanācārya, who installed this bronze, is identified with Jinabhadra-gaṇī Kṣamāśramaṇa, the famous Jaina scholar and monk who lived long between 500 and 609.[1]

The Yakṣa on the right end of the pedestal is identified as Sarvānubhūti, pot-bellied and two-armed, holding a fruit (citron) in the right hand and a money-bag in the left. The slightly oblong flamboyant halo with an inner beaded design is observed here for the first time in north Indian sculpture. Haloes were taking this shape towards the close of this period, as can also be observed at Ajanta, and the type is continued in the next four or five centuries during the rule of the Gurjara-Pratīhāras of Broach, Mandor, Avanti and Kanauj. The ornaments show Gupta characteristics, and the modelling, especially of the broad shoulders, is noteworthy. The face, with large elongated eyes and a broad forehead, resembles the main figure and follows the early western Indian idiom.

[1] Shah. *op. cit.*, 1959, figs. 10a, 10b, 11; pp. 28-29, p. 29, n. 7.

Ambikā, the attendant Yakṣī, wears an *ekāvalī* with an additional *uraḥ-sūtra* passing between her well-formed full breasts and hanging in a beautiful curve. The child on her lap also wears an *ekāvalī*. Ambikā's hair is worn in a chignon on the top of her head, and she carries a mango-bunch with her right hand. The modelling of the figure is typical of the works of this school.

Both the Yakṣa and the Yakṣī are the earliest known representations of their type so far discovered in Jaina art. The earliest known literary reference to Ambikā as Ambā-Kūṣmāṇḍinī also comes from contemporary gloss on a work of Jinabhadra-gaṇi Kṣamāśramaṇa, i.e. from the gloss on the *Viśeṣāvaś-yaka-Mahābhāṣya*.[1] It may also be incidentally noted that from *circa* late sixth century to *circa* ninth century this Yakṣa pair of Sarvānubhūti (or Sarvāṇha) and Ambikā was the only Yakṣa pair attendant upon all the twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras.

In the Akota hoard there is one more figure of a standing Jina, with a big oval-shaped inscribed *prabhāvalī* behind, the inscription showing that the Jina image was the pious gift of Jinabhadra Vācanācārya referred to above.

A beautiful bronze image of Ambikā, also from the Akota hoard, has an inscription on its back which helps us to assign the figure to the latter half of the sixth century. Ambikā (plate 68B) here sits in the *lalita* pose on a big couchant lion with bulging eyes and a lolling tongue. The whole figure and the halo at the back are attached on a *pīṭha* enriched by three bands of varied design and a lotus-pattern on the legs. The halo is made of lotus-petals or rays surrounded by a broad band of flames, on the top of which is a miniature figure of Pārśvanātha sitting in *dhyāna-mudrā*. The halo surmounts the cross-bar of the back-seat, also adorned with *makara*-heads at the junction of the halo and the cross-bar.

The elaborate crown of Ambikā is made up of a three-peaked *mukuṭa* with a big gem in the centre which is surmounted by a *gavākṣa*-motif or a solar representation. The large chignon tied on the top of the head is visible from behind. Ambikā shows a rather plump squarish face with broad jaws and long eyes. The two heavy ear-rings may be noted. The modelling of the female form is typical of the western Indian idiom. The torso is comparatively small and slender and can be compared with the Ambikā of the Ṛṣabhanātha

[1] *Viśeṣāvaśyaka-bhāṣya* with author's own incomplete commentary completed by Koṭyārya, ed. D.D. Malvania, Ahmedabad, part 3, p. 711, comm. on *gāthā* 3589. Koṭyārya, who completed this commentary, left incomplete by Jinabhadra, must have been a junior contemporary of Jinabhadra-gaṇi.

image installed by Jinabhadra-gaṇī noted above. The goddess wears an *ekāvalī* (?), a broad necklace and an *uraḥ-sūtra* with a *maṅgala-mālā* and a bell at its end. A lower garment worn in *vikaccha*-fashion has a design of broad bands intercepted with circular marks.

The goddess has a mango-bunch in her right hand and a citron in the left. A small child sits on her left lap. Another son is shown standing beside her on the right. There is a damaged inscription on the back, engraved in characters assignable to the latter half of the sixth century A.D.[1]

A very beautiful head of a Jina image (plate 66B) is preserved in this hoard. The beautifully-modelled young face with a broad forehead, elongated eyes, a straight nose, small lips with the lower lip slightly extended and silver-studded eyes, is of excellent workmanship. The neck is of the *kambu-grīvā* type, a typically Gupta characteristic of a *mahā-puruṣa* and his ideal form. The head cannot be later than *circa* 600.[2]

UMAKANT P. SHAH

[1] Shah, *op. cit.*, 1959, fig. 14, also see fig. 74e for the inscription on the back.
[2] *Ibid.*, figs. 16a, 16b.

Part IV

MONUMENTS & SCULPTURE A.D. 600 TO 1000

CHAPTER 14

NORTH INDIA

TEMPLES

OF THE EARLY MEDIEVAL PERIOD NOT MANY ARCHITECTURAL SPECIMENS HAVE survived in north India. Of the extant ones the chief are the temple at Ghanerao, District Pali, and the temple-group at Osia, District Jodhpur, which, in addition to temples of this period, contains later temples as well.

MAHĀVĪRA TEMPLE, GHANERAO

The temple of Mahāvīra at Ghanerao (plate 69), is a *sāndhāra-prāsāda* comprising a sanctum with ambulatory, a *gūḍha-maṇḍapa*, a *trika-maṇḍapa* and a *mukha-catuṣkī* (entrance-porch). Axially in front was built a *raṅga-maṇḍapa* with twenty-four *deva-kulikās*, the whole complex being enclosed within a high *prākāra* (compound-wall).

The sanctum of the temple has a simple plan comprising only two elements, viz. *bhadra* and *karṇa*. The *bhadra*-projections on the three sides of the ambulatory, like the two transepts of the *gūḍha-maṇḍapa*, are decorated with grilled balconies which provide light through beautiful openings.

The elevation of the temple (plate 70) rises above a pair of *bhiṭṭa*-courses supporting bold *pīṭha*-mouldings of *jāḍya-kumbha, kalaśa* and plain *paṭṭikā*. The *pīṭha* supports the usual *vedībandha*-mouldings, which, though plain, are equally bold. From the basement project niches in the middle of each balconied *bhadra*. Containing images of Padmāvatī, Cākreśvarī, Brahma-Yakṣa, Nirvāṇī and Gomukha-Yakṣa, met with in the order of *pradakṣiṇā* from east to west.

The *jaṅghā* shows on the corners bold figures of two-armed *dik-pālas*, standing in elegant *tri-bhaṅga* and uplifted by *kīcakas*. These are flanked by vigorously carved figures of *vyālas* supported on brackets emulating elephant-heads and crowned by lively figures of Gandharvas and Apasarases in various enchanting poses. Brahmā and Ananta, the ninth and tenth *dik-pālas*, also

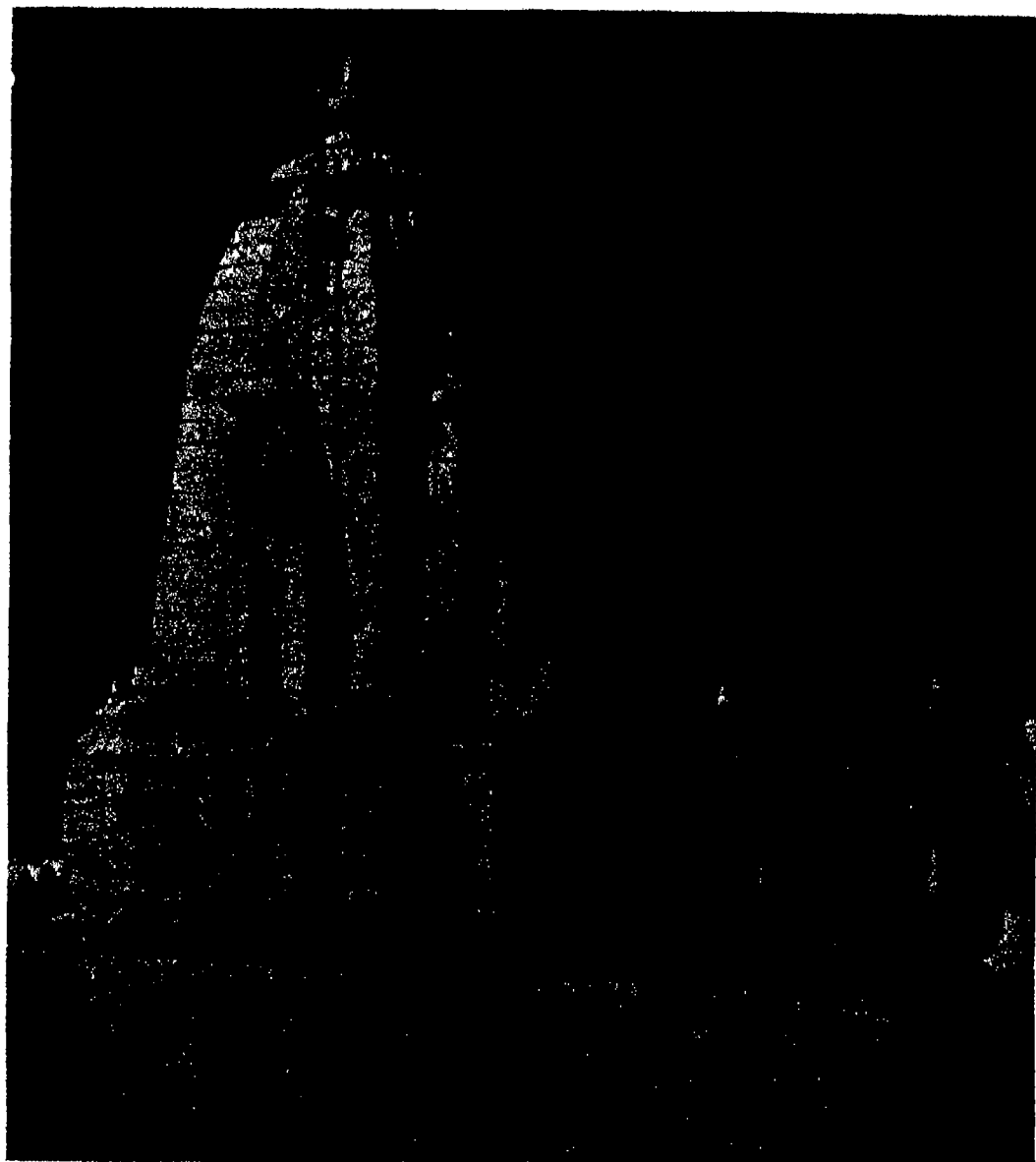
occur on the pilasters in the *trika-maṇḍapa* adjoining the corners of the *gūḍha-maṇḍapa*.

In lieu of the *jaṅghā* the balconies (plate 71) show the mouldings of *rājasenaka*, *vedikā*, *āsana-paṭṭa* and *kakṣāsana*, decorated with carvings and vibrant figures at the extremities. The grills, which are embellished with rampant *vyālas*, support dramatic friezes of dance and music under the festoons of *makara-toraṇa*.

The entire superstructure occurring above the simple bold *varaṇḍikā* atop the *jaṅghā* is a modern restoration.

The *rājasenaka* of the *trika-maṇḍapa* displays a frieze of Vidyā-devīs and Gandharvas, besides a bold figure of *kumbha-puruṣa* each on the north and south flanks. All the six pillars and four pilasters of the *trika* are majestic and elegantly carved on the upper portions. The staircase of the *mukha-catuṣkī* displays on either side figures of Vidyā-devis and Yakṣas including Gomukha and Brahma-Yakṣas.

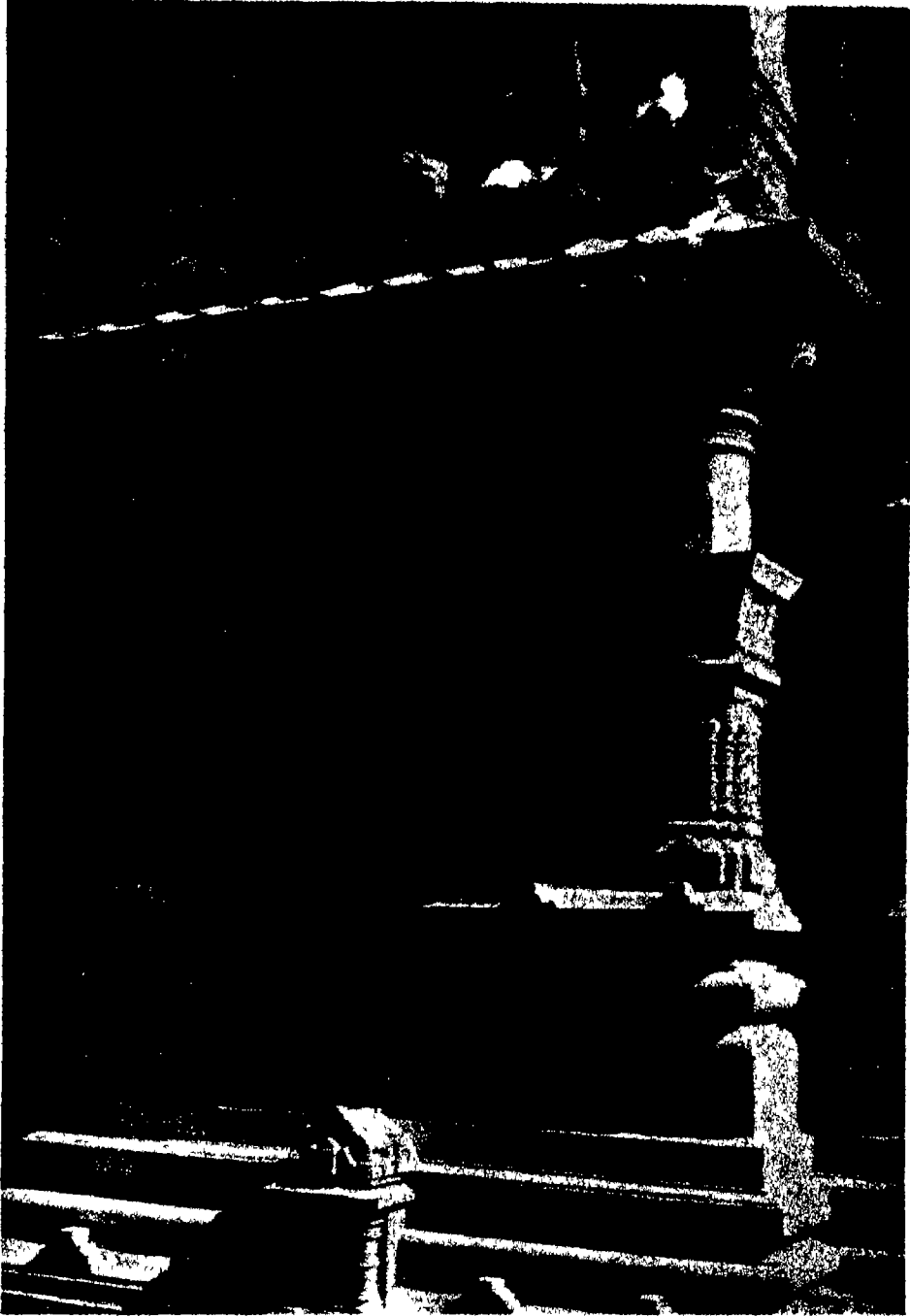
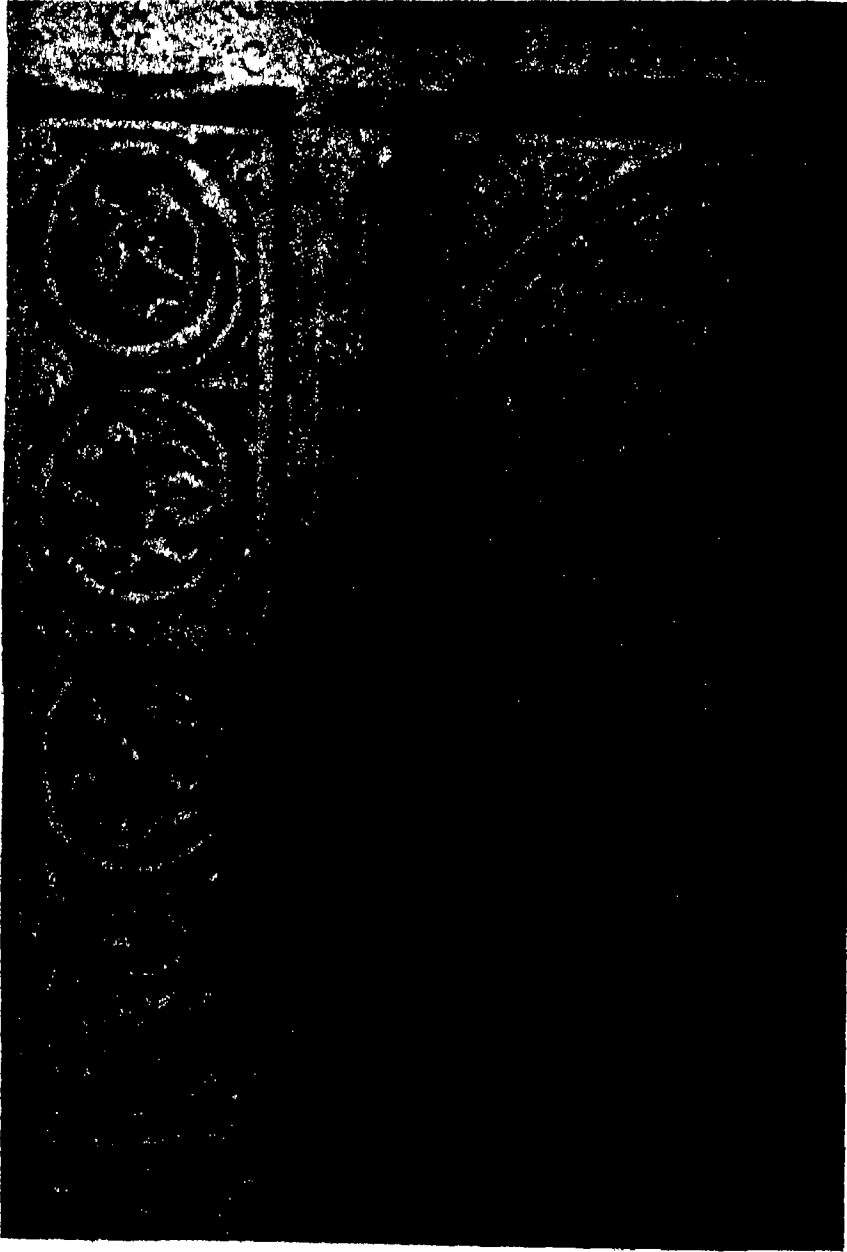
The ceilings of the interior (plate 72) exhibit an interesting variety. The *mukha-catuṣkī* has a lenticular *kṣipta-vitāna* of the *nābhicchanda* order, which occurs on such early temples as Brāhmaṇasvāmin temple of Varman, Kāmeśvara temple at Auwa and Mālādevī temple at Gyaraspur. The central ceiling of the *trika-maṇḍapa* is a *samatala-vitāna* showing compartments carved with a central medallion of *daṇḍa-rāsa*, enclosed by concentric rows of *vyālas*, dancers and acrobats and ornamental friezes. Its left and right bays carry *kṣipta-vitānas* of the *nābhicchanda* order with linked *gajatālus*. The grandest ceiling, however, is that of the octagonal *gūḍha-maṇḍapa* which shows a large *kṣipta-vitāna* of the *sabhā-mārga* order with ten lavishly-carved concentric rings terminating in a *padma-kesara*. These rings include a row of dwarf-figures from which project eight elephant-brackets carrying enchanting *apsarases*.

The *gūḍha-maṇḍapa* has a doorway of five *śākhās* carved with *patraśākhā*, *rūpaśākhā* decorated on the flanks with *vyālas* and *apsarases*, *padmapatra-śākhā* and *ratna-śākhā* with Nāgas below. The architrave and the *rūpa-śākhā* together display in niches twenty figures of Vidyādevīs or Yakṣis, of which Rohiṇī, Prajñapati, Vajraśṛṅkhalā, Vajrāṅkuśā, Padmāvatī and Nirvāṇī or Mahālakṣmī can be recognized on the left side and Māhalakṣmī, Mānasi, Acchuptā, Vairoṭyā, Vajrāṅkuśā and Ambikā on the right. A figure of Pārśvanātha in *dhyānāsana*

Ghanerao : Mahāvira temple

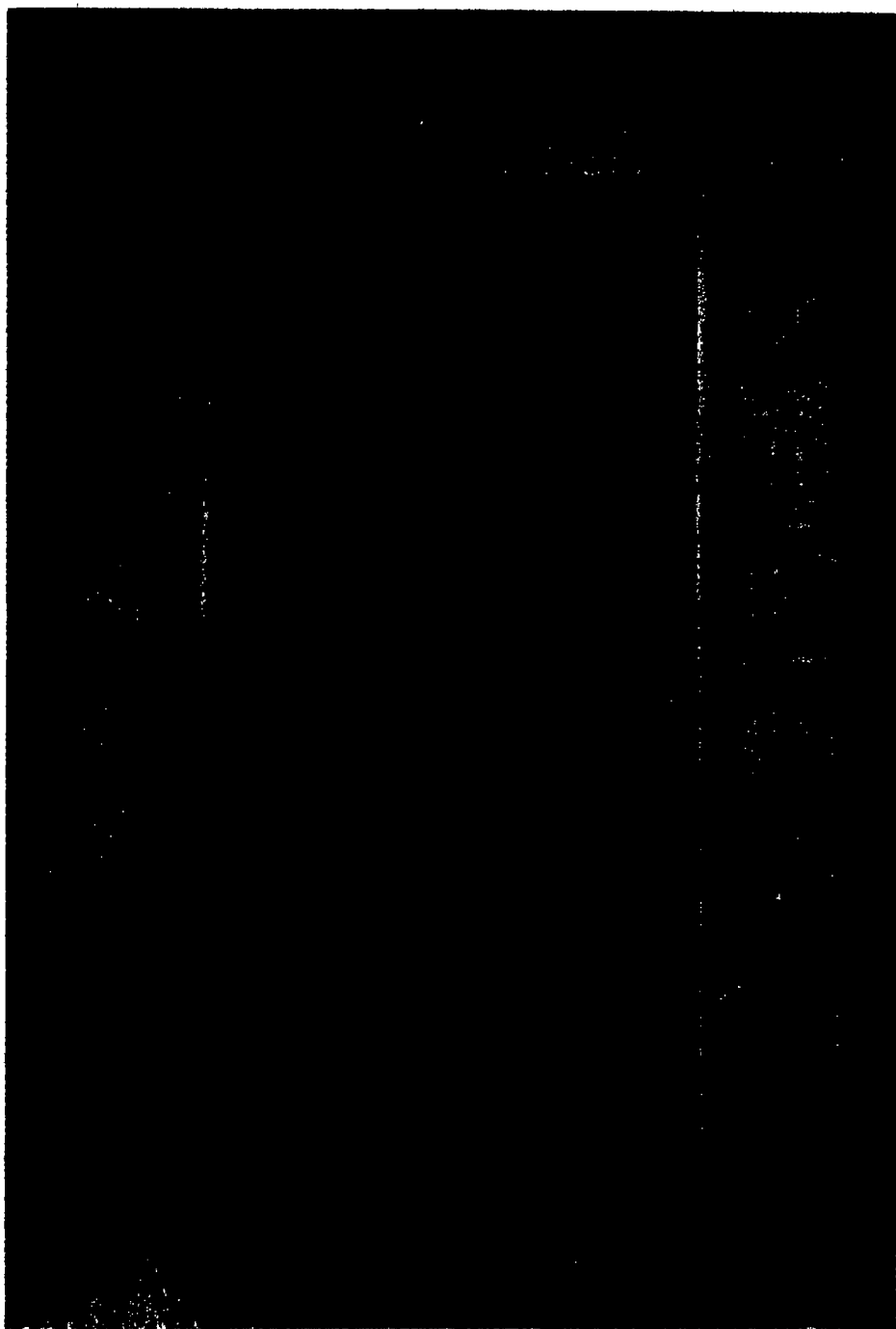
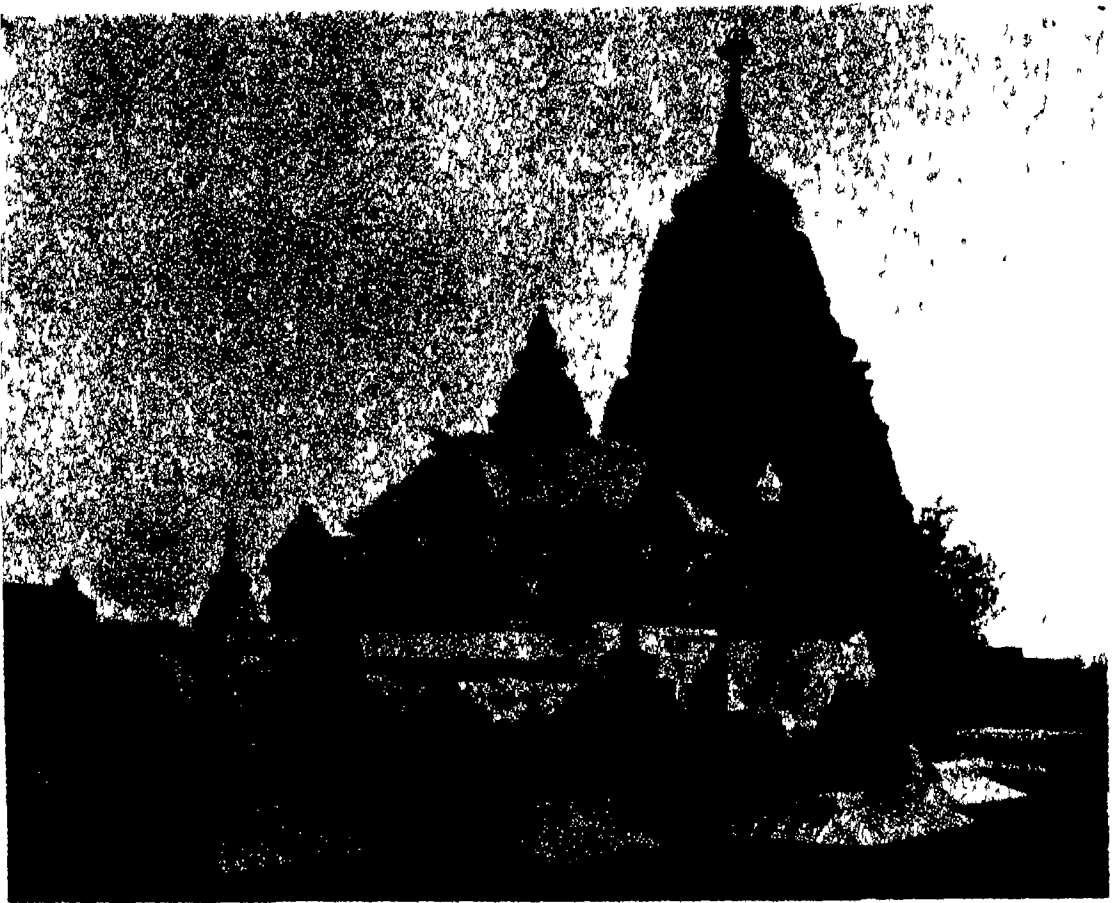
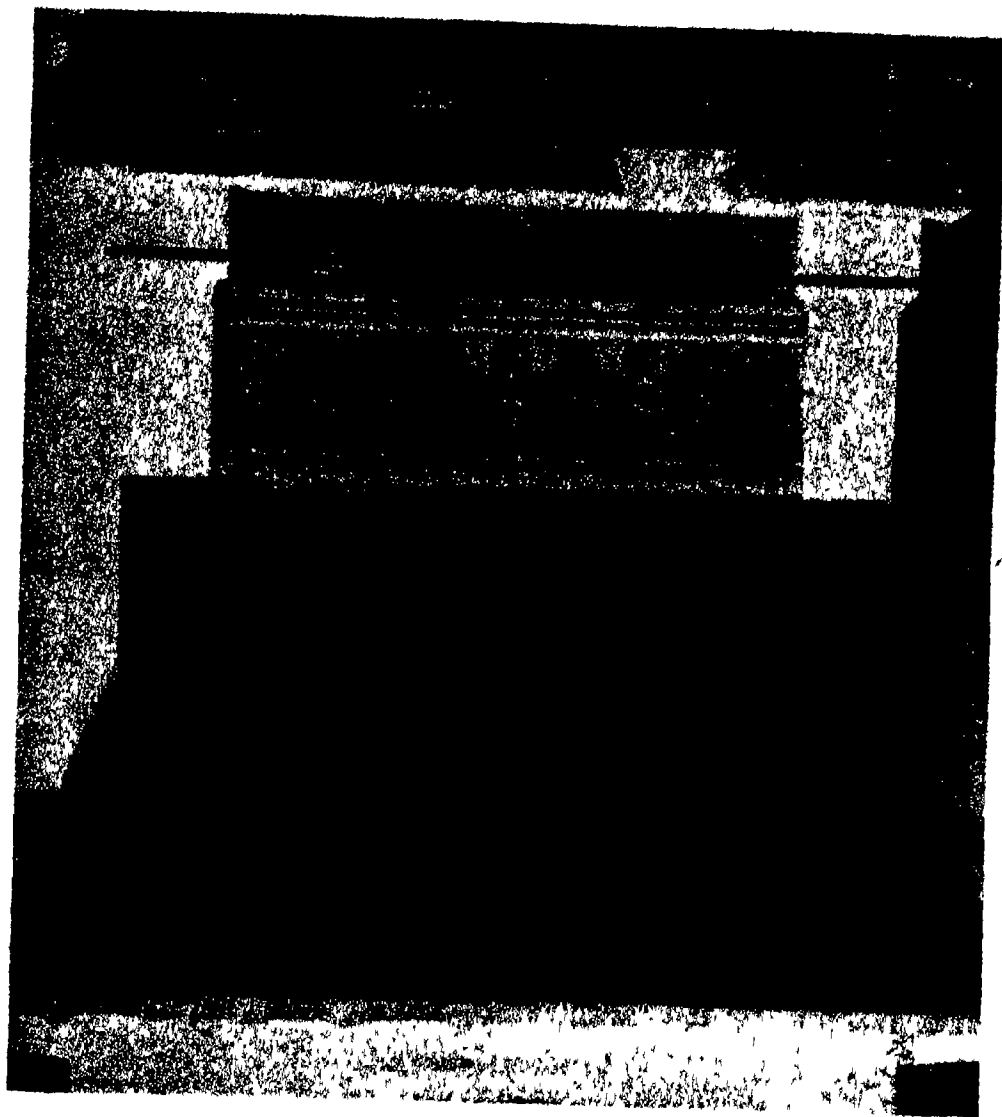
Ghanerao : Mahāvīra temple, elevation

PLATE 70

Ghanerao : Mahāvīra temple, a balcony

PLATE 71

Ghanerao : Mahāvīra temple, part of ceiling

Ghanerao : Mahāvīra temple, sanctum-doorway

PLATE 73

Osia : Mahāvira temple

Osia : Mahāvīra temple, a balcony

Nilakantha : a Tirthaṅkara

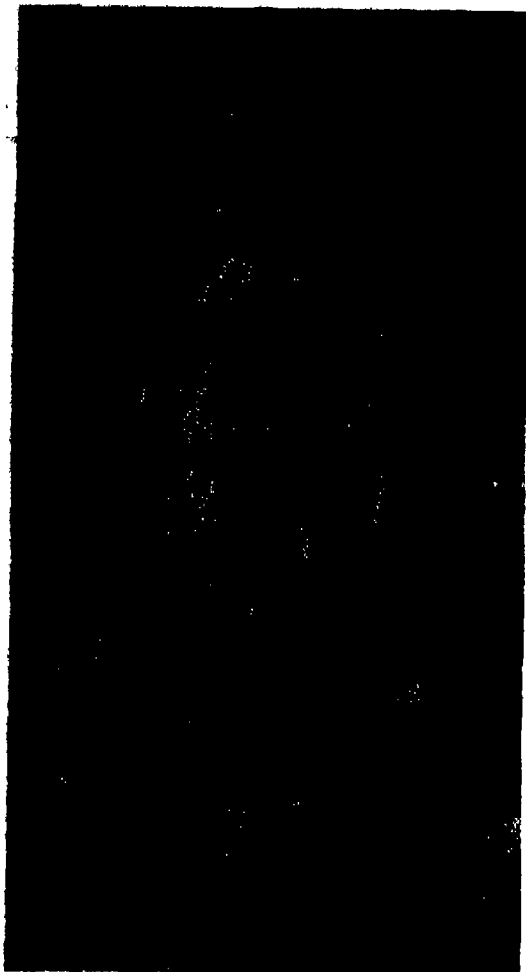



PLATE 76

A. Nilakantha : a Tirthankara

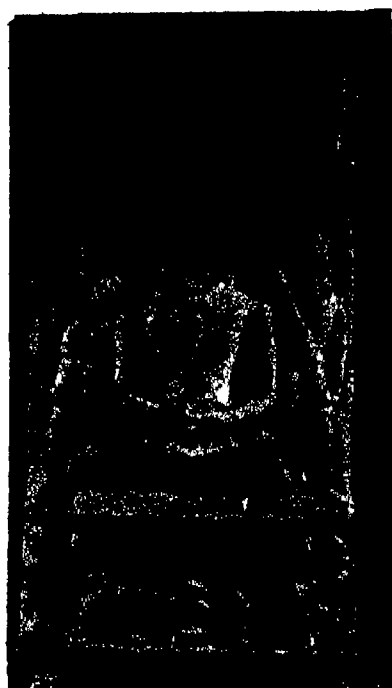
B. Nilakantha : a Tirthankara

PLATE 77

Mathurā Museum : Yakṣī Cakreśvarī

PLATE 78

Mathurā Museum : Yakṣī Ambikā

PLATE 79

A. Lucknow Museum : Tīrthaṅkara Suvidhinātha

B. Lucknow Museum : part of a *toraṇa*-architrave (?)

PLATE 80

appears as the *lalāṭa-bimba*. The doorway is flanked on either side by an artistic *khattaka*, carved with *kīcakas* below and exquisite *udgamas* above.

The sanctum-doorway (plate 73) resembles that of the *gūḍha-maṇḍapa* and is carved with Vidyā-devīs and Yakṣīs riding their *vāhanas* on the *rūpa-stambhas*. Of these figures, Rohiṇī, Nirvāṇī, Vajrāṅkuśā, Cakreśvarī, Mahā-mānasī, Mānasī, Vairoṭyā, Prajñapti and Mahājvālā can be recognized.

Dhaky,[1] who has studied this temple in great details, considers it to be a notable example of the Medapāṭa (Mewar) school of the Māru-Gurjara style of architecture and rightly assigns it to the mid-tenth century on grounds of its stylistic similarities with the Ambikā temple at Jagat. This dating is confirmed by the reported presence here of an image-pedestal, bearing an inscription dated 954, which is now missing.

TEMPLE GROUP, OSIA

Osia is a well-known site of early medieval art and architecture, having about a dozen temples of the early series dating from eighth-ninth centuries and about half a dozen temples of the later series dating from *circa* eleventh century.

The main Jaina temple at the site, the Mahāvīra temple (plate 74), belongs to the early series and was built, according to an inscription, in the reign of Pratīhāra Vatsarāja (last quarter of the eighth century). The temple faces north and consists on plan of a sanctum enclosed by ambulatory, *antarāla*, *gūḍha-maṇḍapa* with lateral transepts, *trika-maṇḍapa* and a *mukha-catuṣkī* approached by a flight of steps. At some distance in front of the entrance-porch, was built a *toraṇa* which, according to an inscription, was added in 1016, but earlier to it, axially in front, was constructed a *vālāṇaka* (covered stepped entrance) in 956. Along either side as well as the back side of the sanctum runs a cloistered corridor, while a pair of *deva-kulikās* was added on either side in the space between the *mukha-maṇḍapa* and the *toraṇa*.

The sanctum is a square compartment of three *aṅgas*, viz., *bhadra*, *prati-ratha* and *karṇa*. In elevation, the *pīṭha* comprises a large *bhiṭṭa*, a wide *antara-patra*, followed by a *kapota* decorated with *caitya*-arches. Above the *kapota* occurs a *vasanta-paṭṭikā* embellished with vegetal scrolls marking the plinth-level. The *pīṭha* supports the usual *vedi-bandha*-mouldings. The *kumbha*-moulding of the *vedi-bandha* is decorated with niches showing such divinities as

[1] M.A. Dhaky in *Shri Mahavira Jaina Vidyalaya Golden Jubilee Volume*, Bombay, 1968, I, pp. 328-32.

Kubera, Gaja-Lakṣmi, Vāyu, etc. Above the ornate *kapota* of the *vedi-bandha* occur *dik-pālas*, in niches surmounted by bold *udgamas*. The *jaṅghā* terminates with a frieze of lotus-scrolls and supports the *varaṇḍikā* comprising a recess between two *kapotas*, capped by a *chādya*. The *bhadras* of the sanctum are articulated by highly artistic grilled balconied windows standing on the usual mouldings of *rājasenaka*, *vedikā*, and *āsana-paṭṭa* and cantoned by a pair of handsome square pilasters, tastefully decorated with lotuses, *ghaṭa-pallavas*, *kīrtti-mukhas* and scroll-designs and crowned by *taraṅga*-brackets. The grills of the balconied windows show a variety of pleasing patterns (plate 75).

The *śikhara* above the sanctum is not original and is substituted by a later one of the Māru-Gurjara style of the eleventh century, characterized by three rows of *uraḥ-śṛṅgas* and minor *śṛṅgas* showing developed *karṇas*.

The *gūḍha-maṇḍapa* comprises only two elements on plan, viz. *bhadra* and *karṇa*, and shares the mouldings and decorations of the sanctum up to the *varaṇḍikā*. Its *jaṅghā*-façade is ornamented with figures of Yakṣas, and Yakṣis, and Vidyā-devīs. The front *karṇa* harbours figures of Sarasvatī and Pārśva-Yakṣa on the left and Acchuptā and Apraticakrā on the right.

The roof of the *gūḍha-maṇḍapa* is a three-tiered *phānsanā* of remarkable beauty. The first tier starts with a *rūpa-kaṇṭha* decorated with dancing figures of Vidyādharas and Gandharvas, followed by *chādya* and a recess carved with chequer-pattern. The four corners of the first tier are mounted by a graceful *śṛṅga*, while the *bhadras* project a *rathikā*, containing figures of Kubera on the west and an unidentified Yakṣa on the east. The second tier shows a *siṁhakarṇa*-design flanked on either side by half its replica. The four corners of this tier are decorated with beautiful *karṇa-kūṭas*. The last or the third tier has a *siṁhakarṇa* in the middle of each side crowned by a shapely bell-finial.

The *śikhara* over the *trika-maṇḍapa* is of two-tiered *phānsanā* type matching with that of the *gūḍha-maṇḍapa* and shows three panels of *siṁha-karṇa* on each side. The *siṁhakarṇa* on the north harbours figures of the Mahāvidyās—Gaurī, Vairoṭyā and Mānasī. The western *phānsanā* shows on the north face figures of Yakṣī, Cakreśvarī, Mahāvidyā Mahākālī and Vāg-devī. The west face harbours Mahāvidyā Mānavī, flanked on either side by a Yakṣī.

The two-tiered *phānsanā*-roof of the entrance-porch is capped by a *ghaṇṭā*. The three panels of its pediments on each side harbour figures of divinities, the

east face showing Mahāvidyās Kālī, Mahāmānasī and Varuṇa Yakṣa, the north face having Yakṣa Sarvānubhūti, Ādinātha and Ambikā, and the west face presenting Mahāvidyā Rohiṇī, flanked by a goddess on either side.

The interior of the sanctum is plain but relieved by three large niches which are now vacant. The details of the doorway of the sanctum are concealed under the recent layers of paint and glasswork.

The four pillars of the *śālā* are essentially square and are decorated with *ghaṭa-pallava* (foliage), *nāgapāśa*-design and bold *kīrtti-mukhas*. The ceiling above the *śālā* is one of the *nābhicchanda*-order formed by simple *gajatālus*. There are in all ten deep-sunk niches in the walls of the *gūḍha-maṇḍapa*, two of them containing figures of Kubera and Vāyu. The bold *caitya*-arch crowning each niche of the *gūḍha-maṇḍapa* harbours figures of Jaina divinities. In the *pradakṣiṇā* order from north-east to the north-west, these divinities represent Rohiṇī, Vairoṭyā, Mahāmānasī and Nirvāṇī. The large panel above architrave in each *bhadra* shows an image of Pārśvanātha with attendants.

There are reasons to believe that a *valāṇaka* existed as an integral part of the original temple built by Vatsarāja during the eighth century and was renovated in 956 by the addition of a pillared hall.[1]

The original Mahāvīra temple is a dainty piece of early Rajasthan architecture providing a *phāṁsanā*-roof over the *maṇḍapa* of great artistic merit and the oldest example of *trika-maṇḍapa*, so characteristic of Jaina architecture. The main temple and its *deva-kulikās* are a treasure-house of early Jaina art and iconography and the latter indeed constitute little gems of architecture.

SCULPTURES

Loose sculptures of the period are numerous, but we have documentation of not many. Only the more important of them may be mentioned here, particularly those which have found place in accessible collections.

Mathurā continued to be a centre of Jaina art and architecture during the early medieval times, as is attested by the find of several Jaina images here in post-Gupta style.

From the sixth to the twelfth centuries Mathurā and the neighbouring region of Bharatpur, including Kaman and Bayana, were ruled by a feudatory

[[1] The *toraṇa*, *valāṇaka* and *deva-kulikās*, being later additions, are dealt with in the chapter covering the period A.D. 1000 to 1300.—Editor.]

dynasty known as the Śūrasenas who were patrons of art and architecture. Under their benevolent rule both Brāhmaṇism and Jainism flourished in this region, known anciently as Śūrasena, after which the dynasty obviously took its name. In the old mosque known as Chausath-Khamba at Kaman may be seen numerous Brāhmaṇical and some Jaina sculptures of the early medieval period. Kaman was a seat of Jainism of the Kāmyaka-*gaccha*, and Jaina teachers of this *gaccha*, Viṣṇusūri and Maheśvarasūri, are mentioned in the Bayana stone inscription of 1043.[1] In 1032, during the rule of one Lakṣmīnivāsa, identifiable with the Śūrasena chief Lakṣmaṇa, the Jaina author Durgadeva wrote the *Ṛṣṭa-samuccaya* in a temple of Śāntinātha at Kumbhanagara or Kaman.[2] Another Śūrasena ruler called Kardama, who was initiated into Jaina order by Abhayadeva-sūri and named Ghaneśvara-sūri, is said to have found the Rāja-*gaccha*. Like Kaman, Bayana, anciently known as Śāntipura or Śrīpathā, was also a stronghold of Jainism and yielded an inscribed Jaina image, dated 994, recording that it was dedicated at the instance of one Śūrasena of the Vāgaḍa-*saṅgha*.[3]. A fourteenth-century mosque known as the Ukhā-masjid and five other mosques at Bayana were built with the material obtained from the demolition of many Hindu and Jaina temples of the early medieval and later times, as is attested by the re-used old carved pillars and other architectural members. That Narhad (ancient Narabhaṭa), situated near Pilani, was also included in the art-province of Śūrasena is shown by the find of four highly artistic ninth-century images of standing Jinas,[4] two of Neminatha and one each of Sumatinātha and Śāntinātha, found at this place.

Nilakantha or Rajorgarh (or Garh), also called Paranagar after the colossal image of Pārśvanātha, is an old town of Matsyadeśa, situated to the west of Śūrasena, and is a reputed centre of early medieval and medieval sculptures and temples of the Jaina as well as Brāhmaṇical, mainly Śaiva, sects. An inscription dated 923 of the time of king Sāvaṭa[5] records the construction of a Śāntinātha temple and the installation of the main image therein at Rājyapura. The place is well-known for its colossal (4·95 m. high) image of Pārśvanātha locally called Naugajā, and three other large Jina figures (plates 76, 77A and 77B), and for the remains of recently discovered Jaina temples of *circa* tenth century.

[1] *Indian Antiquary*, XIV, 1885, pp. 8 ff.

[2] K C. Jain, *Ancient Cities and Towns of Rajasthan*, Delhi, 1972, p. 150.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 153.

[4] Dashratha Sharma, *Early Chauhan Dynasties*, Delhi, 1959, plate facing p. 228; *Indian Archaeology—A Review 1956-57*, New Delhi, 1957, p. 83.

[5] *Indian Archaeology—A Review 1961-62*, New Delhi, 1962, p. 85.

Vārāṇasī has also yielded fine images including one of Ajitanātha, dating from *circa* sixth and seventh centuries, now deposited in the Lucknow Museum.[1] A handsome *sarvatobhadra* image of four standing Jinas, assignable to *circa* ninth century, comes from Sarayaghat,[2] District Etah, attesting the vitality of the Jaina art in Madhya-deśa during the post-Gupta period.

KRISHNA DEVA

Rich in its sculptural wealth, the Archaeological Museum at Mathurā contains mostly images produced in the Mathurā region or the Braja-bhūmi, the land sacred to the Jainas as well as Brāhmaṇists. Of the period between sixth century and the tenth century the Mathurā Museum has interesting collection of Jaina sculptures showing Jinas, Śāsana-devīs and secondary gods. Significant from the standpoint of art-history is a relief depicting seated Pārśvanātha assignable to the Pratīhāra period. The meditating Jina sits on serpent-coils supported by a conventional *siṁhāsana*. He is shaded by seven Nāga-hoods and attended by his Śāsana-devatās, viz. Dharaṇendra and Padmāvatī, both bearing a single *nāga-phaṇa* over their head. Towards the top are flying Vidyādharas within conventional frames representing clouds. The facial form, although mutilated, reminds one of the Gupta tradition. Another image of a seated Jina, showing more developed traits, appears be of a slightly later date. The Jina sits on lotus-flower placed above the lion-throne. Some of the attending deities of the central plane are also shown on lotus-flowers. The accessory divinities on the sides of the Tīrthaṅkaras are in five tiers, the lowest one of which represents Yakṣa and Yakṣī and above them stand nimbate *cāmara*-holders. The three upper tiers perhaps represent the gods of the higher regions including the Vidyādharas. The central part of the pedestal is embossed with the *dharma-cakra* and deer motif, which may be taken in this case as the *lāñchana* of Śāntinātha, as has been suggested by Bhattacharya.[3]

Amongst the Devī icons a remarkable sculpture is that of ten-armed Cakreśvarī standing on a lotus-flower supported by her *vāhana* Garuḍa (plate 78). She is flanked by two female attendants and Vidyādharas. The sculpture comes from Prakhara.

The finest and most complex is a tenth-century relief representing Ambikā with her *parivāra-devatās* and a seated Jina on the top. The goddess sits in

[1] *Shri Mahavira Jaina Vidyalaya Golden Jubilee Volume*, Bombay, 1968, I, pp. 143-55, figs. 10-11.

[2] *Ibid.*, fig. 4 facing p. 217.

[3] B.C. Bhattacharya, *The Jaina Iconography*, Lahore, 1939, p. 73 and plate IV.

ardhaparyaṅka-posture, holding a baby in her lap and another child standing close by and touching her right knee. Below her is also shown her mount lion. She is flanked on either side by a *cāmara-dhara*, Gaṇeśa and Kubera. On the two sides of Jaina Neminātha on the top are represented Kṛṣṇa (as Viṣṇu) and Balarāma, for all three, according to tradition, belonged to one and the same family. Besides these, the three are also included in Jainism amongst sixty-three *śalāka-puruṣas* as a Tīrthaṅkara, a Balabhadra and Vāsudeva. The upper part also shows four more divine figures in flying-posture. At the bottom are sculptured eight female devotees. The relief (plate 79) undoubtedly is the most significant amongst the medieval icons expressing a successful fusion of Jaina and Brāhmaṇical mythological concepts.

The State Museum at Lucknow has in its collection representative sculptures from almost all parts of Uttar Pradesh. While the Jaina images belonging to the post-Gupta and early medieval periods here are many, only a few of them appear to be important. Of the Tīrthaṅkara icons a rare figure is of Suvidhinātha, as the pedestal bears a fish-symbol between two lions representing *siṁhāsana*. The Jina is seated in the usual posture with tiny figures of Yakṣa and Yakṣī below, *cāmara-dharas* on the sides and Vidyādhara-*yugalas* on the top flanking the triple *chatras*. A drum above the *chatras* represents the *deva-dundubhi*. This image was found at Śrāvastī (plate 80A).

A valuable structural fragment, perhaps originally forming a part of some *toraṇa*-architrave of Mathurā, bears the relief of a *deva-kulikā* with a figure of a Jina inside and the projecting face of a *makara* on one side (plate 80B). The *śikhara* of the *deva-kulikā*, though crudely executed, has a *tri-ratha* form divided into *bhūmis* and a frontal pediment (*śukanāsa*) marked with a trefoil arch.

Other interesting Jaina sculptures of Pratīhāra period in the Lucknow Museum are a few Tīrthaṅkara figures in *kāyotsarga*-posture and a Pārśvanātha image from Śrāvastī and some from Bateshwar near Agra, including a few *sarvatobhadrikā pratimās*.

Jaina images of north India are not many in number in the Allahabad Museum, and most of them are from Kauśāmbī. An interesting example of early medieval Jaina iconography is the Jaina tutelary couple datable to *circa* eighth century from Lachhagir in District Allahabad. Carved on a sandstone slab, it represents seated male and female divinities in *ardhaparyaṅkāsana* under an *aśoka*-tree, which has a small Jina figure in the centre just above the trunk.

The right hand of the two deities is in *abhaya-mudrā*, and they have usual ornaments on their bodies and a striped *dhotī* in the lower part. The female, who also wears a *yajñopavīta*, carries a child in her lap and above the basal band are depicted six figures.

The sculpture which shows an impress of the Gupta art-tradition seems to have been modelled after Pāñcika and Hāritī figures of the Buddhists. Other images comprise a few representations of Tīrthaṅkaras and a *sarvatobhadrikā pratimā*. The finest of the Jina icons is the one depicting Candraprabha seated on a lotus-flower, resting on a conventional *siṁhāsana*. He is flanked on the lower, middle and upper planes respectively by Yakṣas and Yakṣīs and devotees, tallish *cāmara-dharas* and Vidyādharas flying against the clouds on the two sides decked with *kaṭila-patrāvalī*, besides lotus-petals, and a rayed circle reminds of the ornate halo of the Gupta period. Another seated Tīrthaṅkara image may be of Śāntinātha as its pedestal centrally bears the traditional Buddhist emblem showing a *cakra* with a deer on either side. Attendant figures on the sides are of the *cāmara-dharas*, elephant-riders and flying Vidyādharas. The third Jina icon seems to represent Munisuvrata in seated position; just below the Tīrthaṅkara is carved the figure of a reclining lady.[1] All these images can be stylistically dated to *circa* ninth century. The *sarvatobhadrikā* and other Jina images have been dated to the tenth century. The *sarvatobhadrikā-pratimā* presents Jinas in a standing-posture.[2]

M. C. JOSHI

[1] For the reclining female figure below other Munisuvrata figures, see Debala Mitra, 'Iconographic Notes', *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, I, 1958, pp. 38-39.

[2] For details of the Allahabad Museum pieces, see Pramod Chandra, *Stone Sculpture in the Allahabad Museum*, Poona, 1971 (?).

CHAPTER 15

EAST INDIA

WEST BENGAL

JAINISM SEEMS TO HAVE BEEN POPULAR IN BENGAL IN THE EARLY MEDIEVAL period side by side with Buddhism and Brāhmaṇism. Referring to Puṇḍravardhana (north Bengal) and Samataṭa (south Bangladesh), the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsang says that in both these regions the Digambaras (Nirgranthas) were numerous, though there were also many Buddhist *saṅghārāmas* and Deva temples.[1] Though Jainism seems to have continued in popularity in Bengal even after Hiuen Tsang's time, not much Jaina activity is known from either literary or archaeological sources during the succeeding, eighth century. This has led some to believe that Jainism began to decline in Bengal after the seventh century with the rise of the Pālas, who were strong champions of Buddhism. This presumption is not correct in view of the fact that during the ninth and tenth centuries a large number of Jaina shrines were built and many stone and bronze images made in different parts of Bengal, though Buddhism became the dominant religion of the state.

In the ninth to eleventh centuries Jaina art in east India was as vigorous and varied as Buddhist and Brāhmaṇical art. In the field of plastic art, the seated image of Ṛṣabhanātha from Surohor, District Dinajpur, stylistically attributable to the tenth century, has a unique place. It shows the lingering grace and charm of Gupta art (plate 81A). J.N. Banerjea describes the sculpture as follows:

> 'Shaped in the form of a miniature shrine, it contains the central figure of the Jina, with his characteristic *lāñchana* (bull) below the pedestal on which he is seated in the *vaddha-padmāsana* with his hands in *dhyāna-mudrā* and miniature figures of twenty-three other Jinas with their peculiar marks, seated inside small shrines in similar attitude

[1] R.C. Majumdar, 'Jainism in Ancient Bengal', *Shri Mahavira Jaina Vidyalaya Golden Jubilee Volume*, Bombay, 1968, pp. 136-37; S. Beal, *Buddhist Records of the Western World*, II, London, 1884.

as the central figure. These are arranged in tiers, seven on either side of the main image, and nine in three parallel rows of three on the top. These last three rows are made to project a little forward, thus serving as a sort of canopy to the principal figure. Two *chowry*-bearing attendants stand in graceful pose, one on either side of it, and at a level with its *jaṭā-mukuṭa*, are shown garland-bearing Vidyādhara couples flying among the conventional representation of the clouds. The whole composition is carved with minute skill and refined delicacy and probably belongs to the early Pāla period'.[1]

The northern part of Bangladesh has yielded several more interesting Jaina sculptures, including those which depict a seated couple with a child in their lap under a *kalpa-vṛkṣa* with spreading branches over these figures.[2] They are the tutelary Yakṣa couple associated with the Jaina cult, representing the fertility aspects as Kubera and Hārīti do in Mahāyāna Buddhism. An image of Ṛṣabhanātha (tenth century), now in the Asutosh Museum, University of Calcutta, is also from that region. It was collected by S.K. Saraswati from Mandol, District Rajshahi.

An exquisitely-carved bronze figure of Ambikā,[3] the Yakṣī of Neminātha, was found at Nalgora, 24-Parganas. The deity, in graceful moulding, stands on a lotus, holding with her left hand a child on her waist, under the bent bow of a tree. In the left hand is some flower. A nude child is shown standing on her right side. At the bottom of the tree is Ambikā's cognizance, the lion. On stylistic grounds the image can also be attributed to the tenth century (plate 81B). That Jainism was very popular in this area during the medieval period is attested by the Kantabenia figure of Jina Pārśvanātha, of the eleventh century, standing in *kāyotsarga*-posture, accompanied by the miniature figures of twenty-three other Jinas.[4]

Jaina images are widely distributed also in many other districts of West Bengal. At Ujani in Burdwan, a rare image of Śāntinātha, of the eleventh-twelfth century, was discovered; it is housed in the Vaṅgīya Sāhitya Pariṣad Museum in Calcutta. The back slab of the image shows the nine Grahas,

[1] J.N. Banerjee in *History of Bengal*, ed. R.C. Majumdar, I, Dacca, 1942, p. 464. [District Dinajpur has now been divided into West Dinajpur (West Bengal, India) and East Dinajpur (Bangladesh). It has not been possible to ascertain from which of these two Districts the present sculpture emanates.—Editor.]

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 465.

[3] *Ibid.*

[4] *Ibid.*

five on one side and four on the other. The *lāñchana*, the antelope, of the Tīrthaṅkara is depicted on the pedestal.[1]

From Sat-Deuliya, also in District Burdwan, were discovered a *caumukhī* with Ṛṣabhadeva, Mahāvīra, Pārśvanātha and Candraprabha, all in *kāyotsarga*-pose and with their respective *lāñchanas*, and isolated sculptures of Ṛṣabha, Pārśva and Mahāvīra (?), lower part missing, with five extant miniature Jinas all round. From the same place was recently acquired a unique stone stele containing the seated figure of Ṛṣabhanātha, with his *lāñchana*, the bull, below, and seven rows of Tīrthaṅkaras in *kāyotsarga*-pose. Ṛṣabhanātha is seated in *padmāsana* beneath a three-tiered parasol. He is accompanied on either side by an attendant holding a flywhisk. At the top are shown hands playing on drums or cymbals.[2] The seven terraces below the seated Ṛṣabha contain in all figures of one hundred and forty-eight Tīrthaṅkaras. The sculpture is perhaps, as P.C. Das Gupta suggests, a representation of the *aṣṭāpada-tīrtha* (plate 82A).[3]

The discovery of this stele lends support to the presumption that the temple at Sat-Deuliya (plate 82B) is also of Jaina origin.[4]

The brick temple of Deuliya belongs to the *rekha* type of Orissan temples. It has a straight and perpendicular *garbhagṛha* with a curvilinear *śikhara*. The *āmalaka* and the usual finials are missing. 'A singular feature, worth noticing,' Saraswati remarks, 'is that towards the top, the cella of the *garbha-gṛha* has several inverted offsets forming a projected cornice on the top of which the *śikhara* is placed. The façades of both the sanctum and the *śikhara* are divided into sharp ridges, an arrangement that must have resulted from the division of the façades into *rathas* and *pagas*. The body of the sanctum is otherwise plain, but the *śikhara* is profusely decorated with scroll-work and the '*caitya*-window'

[1] *Ibid.*

[2] P.C. Das Gupta, 'A rare Jaina icon from Sat-Deuliya', *Jain Journal*, VII, 3 January 1973, pp. 130 ff.

[3] According to Jaina tradition, Bharata, son of Ṛṣabha, erected the first *stūpa* and shrine on the mountain where his father Ṛṣabha obtained *nirvāṇa*. 'The shrine and *stūpas* erected, Bharata made eight terraces (*aṣṭāpada*) between the foot and the top of the mountain, hence the name *aṣṭāpada* given to the mount. Here also is the underlying conception of the first Jaina shrine, being an eight-terraced mountain, an eight-terraced Ziggurat, or an eight-terraced *stūpa*.' U.P. Shah, *Studies in Jaina Art*, Banaras, 1955, p. 128.

[4] Of the Jaina images found in Burdwan, mention may be made of *caumukhī* with Ṛṣabhanātha, Neminātha, Pārśvanātha and Candraprabha, and two Ādinatha figures (*circa* tenth century), now preserved in the Asutosh Museum of Indian Art, Calcutta.

pattern. . The corners are slightly chamfered in contrast to the ridge of the earlier group, but the sharp edges are retained.'[1]

Jaina images of this period have also been found in Midnapur District. Of them mention may be made of the Pārśvanātha image found at Barabhum. This image, which is now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta, shows miniature figures of the twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras. The image shows excellent workmanship and may be dated to the tenth-eleventh century.[2]

Bankura seems to have been a most prolific centre of Jaina art in West Bengal. The image of Pārśvanātha from Deulbhira, District Bankura, seated in the usual *yoga*-posture, with seven hoods of a snake over his head, is a fine example of Jaina art and can be attributed to the tenth century on stylistic grounds.[3] The image is preserved in the Indian Museum.

Debala Mitra discovered many interesting Jaina relics of tenth-eleventh century in District Bankura,[4] on the basis of which it can be said with certainty that this region was an important centre of the Digambara Jainas. The sites covered in her survey include the following villages: Ambikanagar on the confluence of the Kangsavati and Kumari; Chitgiri, opposite Ambikanagar; Barkola, 4 km. east of Ambikanagar; Pareshnath, 3 km. north-west of Ambikanagar; Chiada, opposite Pareshnath; and Kendua on the bank of the Kangsavati. Among the Jaina relics from Ambikanagar, the fragment of sculpture representing Ambikā, the Śāsana-devī of Neminātha, lying outside the village-temple (obviously the name of the village is derived from the deity), and a Ṛṣabhanātha figure are important. The extant portion of the Ambikā image is now being worshipped inside the temple as a Brāhmaṇical goddess. The image of Ṛṣbhanātha (plate 83A), lying by the side of the *liṅga* installed in a ruined temple at the back of the Ambikādevī temple, is of fine workmanship. This figure, with a beautiful facial expression and the *jaṭā-mukuṭa*, stands in *kāyotsarga* on a double-petalled lotus, below which is his bull. As usual, he is accompanied on either side by an attendant and over his head is a multi-tiered umbrella flanked by a flying couple holding garlands. Two pairs

[1] S.K. Saraswati in Majumdar, *op. cit.*, 1942, pp. 500-01. [The temple has been again brought to our notice by Mr S.N. Samanta, Curator, Museum and Art Gallery, University of Burdwan, who has also sent a few photographs, some of them reproduced here, of sculptures discovered by him at Sat-deuliya in 1957.—Editor.]

[2] Banerjea, *op. cit.*, p. 465.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 464.

[4] Debala Mitra in *Journal of the Asiatic Society (Letters)*, XXIV, 1958, pp. 131-34.

of hands playing on musical instruments are seen over the *chatra*. On the back slab are shown twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras in *kāyotsarga*-posture arranged in two rows of twelve. About the temple (plate 83B) Mitra says:

'Like the Orissan temples, its *bāḍa* has different divisions *pābhāga*, *jaṅghā*, and *baraṇḍa*. Built on a narrow platform (*upāna*), the *pābhāga* consists of four lowermost mouldings, *khurā*, *kumbha*, *khurā* and inverted *khurā*, the last two relieved at intervals, with heart-shaped motifs. The north-west and south sides of the *jaṅghā* are relieved with with six pilasters, three on either side of the central projection, the last containing a niche, meant for the *pārśva-devatās* (no longer existing). The pilasters are plain, except for the two mouldings, *khurā* and inverted *khurā* at the top. The *baraṇḍa* is a projected moulding, the recess over which demarcating the *bāḍa* from the *śikhara* is crowned by a series of mouldings forming the *śikhara* of the temple. Five of these mouldings are now extant.

'The central projection on the front (east) side is thicker than the rest and in it is provided the entrance. The door-opening is spanned at the top by five inconspicuous corbels, capped by a lintel, the last extending to the entire width of the central projection.

'The temple is *tri-ratha* on plan, its inside 4′ 2½″ (1·40 m.) square. The thickness of the walls is 2′ 1″ (63 cm.), so that the outer sides are exactly double the inner sides. The interior of the temple corbels inwards to the *garbha-muda* (the lowermost ceiling of the sanctum) which is formed of two stone slabs. There was at least one more cell over the *garbha-muda*, approach to which was provided by a narrow opening above the lintel of the door.'

In addition to the above, the village contains some other mutilated Jaina images of the same period.

At Chitgiri, opposite Ambikanagar, there are some relics including a figure of a Tīrthaṅkara in *kāyotsarga*-pose. The *lāñchana* below the pedestal looks like a deer and the figure in question is therefore that of Śāntinātha.

Barkola, about 4 km. east of Ambikanagar, was an important centre of Jainism as the extant remains from this place would show. Among the relics of interest from this place are an Ambikā with her usual attributes and a child holding her hanging left hand, and two Tīrthaṅkaras in *kāyotsarga*, with

indistinct cognizances. One of them seems, however, to be Suvidhinātha or Ajitanātha. Two miniature shrines, commonly known as *caturmukha* or *caumukha*, were also noticed here. The better preserved of them contains on each of four faces, within a trefoil arch, the figure of a Tīrthaṅkara in *kāyotsarga*; three of the Tīrthaṅkaras identifiable through their cognizances, are Ṛṣabhanātha, Candraprabha and Śāntinātha, but the cognizance of the fourth is not clear. As Mitra observes, these monolithic shrines are important as they give an idea of the architectonic shape and features of the old temples of north-Indian *rekha* type, 'consisting of a perpendicular *bāḍa, tri-ratha* on plan, with two mouldings for *pābhāga*, a *pañca-paga śikhara* made of series of gradually diminishing *khurā*-shaped mouldings and a high cylindrical neck, over which rests a disproportionately broad *āmalaka* crowned by *stūpa*-shaped finial.'

The village of Pareshnath, 3 km. north-west of Ambikanagar, had a shrine in honour of Pārśvanātha (after whom this village is named), now reduced to a mere plinth. The image of Pārśvanātha, with a bold and graceful execution, is now shattered into several pieces. At Chiada, near Pareshnath, were also found some Tīrthaṅkara images.

Kendua, 11 km. north of Ambikanagar, was once a flourishing centre of Jaina art and religion with a Jaina establishment, now in ruins. The whole area is littered with architectural fragments, of a stone temple, perhaps erected for Pārśvanātha, as a beautiful image of that Tīrthaṅkara, broken at the top, lies near it.

Jaina shrines, many of them now in ruins, have been located in the sites in districts bordering West Bengal and Bihar, especially Dhanbad and Purulia. Of these the following sites deserve special mention: Chara, Sanka, Senera, Boram, Balarampur, Palma, Arsa, Deoli, Pakbira, Lathondungri and Dulmi. Jainism witnessed a great development in the valleys of the Damodar, the Kangasabati and the Suvarnarekha rivers, which have yielded images of many Tīrthaṅkaras and Śāsana-devatās, besides containing ruins of many Jaina shrines.[1]

At Deoli, District Purulia, there was a *pañcāyatana* group of temples (plate 89A). From this area was discovered a life-size statue of Aranātha. At Jorapukur, a place adjacent to Deoli, were also found many images of the Jaina pantheon.

[1] S.C. Mukherji in *Babu Chhote Lal Jain Smṛti Grantha*, Calcutta, 1967, pp. 150 ff.

Of all sites Pakbira, in the same District, seems to have been the most prolific in Jaina shrines and images. The images found here and now housed in a shed include those of Mahāvīra, Pārśvanātha, Kunthunātha, Neminātha, Śāntinātha and Ṛṣabhanātha, mostly of the tenth-eleventh century, except one of Mahāvīra, with a short inscription of the ninth century. Another inscribed image from Pakbira is of Śāntinātha (plate 84A), which can be attributed palaeographically to the eleventh century. The Tīrthaṅkara stands in *kāyotsarga*-posture on a double-petalled lotus placed on a *sapta-ratha* pedestal bordered by two bands in relief. The *lāñchana*, the antelope, is shown in the centre of the pedestal. Dey, who has described the sculpture, identifies among the miniature figures on the pedestal the goat-headed Naigameṣin, the presiding deity of children, and four female figures in *añjali-mudrā*.[1] At the bottom of the pedestal, Dey remarks, is a *kalaśa* on the left side and a Śaiva phallus on the right. The occurrence of the phallic symbol in a Jaina sculpture is of great significance. Again, a figure of Ṛṣabhanātha standing on a double-lotus pedestal in *kāyotsarga*, is an exquisite specimen. The proportionate symmetry of the body with a severe face, the beautifully-arranged *jaṭā* head-dress and other features reveal the grace of the figure. Equally well-carved are the attendant figures with *caurīs* on either side. As often, at the top of the back-slab there are twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras, here arranged in twelve rows of two each on either side, and flying Gandharvas and hands playing on drums or cymbals. The ornaments and physical features of the attendant figures also show a high degree of skill of the artist, who could combine iconographical details with an aesthetic treatment of the figures. The artist's deft hand can be noticed also in the figure of Pārśvanātha (plate 84B), the lower part of which alone is now extant, of the ninth-tenth century. The *caurī*-bearers and the female snake-figures, with their tails inter-coiled, betray the height of perfection an artist could achieve in Tīrthaṅkara figures, reflecting the grace of Gupta art. Other interesting relics from Pakbira include the images of a standing Ambikā, a Yakṣa and the lower part of Śāntinātha, besides many Ṛṣabhanātha images of the tenth and eleventh centuries.

Early medieval Jaina images have been noticed in other districts of West Bengal as well.

ORISSA

While in the preceding period Jaina relics are rare in Orissa, they are profuse in the early medieval period. As to the popularity of the faith during this

[1] Sudhin Dey in *Jaina Journal*, V, 1, 1970, pp. 24-25.

time one may refer to Hiuen Tsang's account: 'Among the unbelievers, the most numerous are the Nirgranthas . . . The Nirgranthas and their followers used to go about without any clothing and so attract notice making it a meritorious act to pull out their hair by violence, with their skin dried up and their feet hard and in appearance like a decayed wood on the river-bank.'[1] Almost contemporaneously, the Banpur plate of the Śailodbhava king Dharmarāja (sixth-seventh century) records the gift by his queen Kalyāṇadevī of some land to a Jaina monk called Ekaśata Prabuddhacandra.[2] Jainism in Orissa was of Digambara affiliation.

Archaeological remains are abundant to show the popularity of the Jaina faith, art and culture in different parts of Orissa during this period. Chronologically proceeding, Podasingidi was a very important Jaina centre during the eighth century. Situated in the forest of the Baula hill ranges in Anandpur Sub-division of Keonjhar District, it has yielded several Jaina images, brought to light by Joshi.[3] Unique among these finds are inscribed seated and uninscribed standing images of Ṛṣabhanātha, whose worship seems to have been popular in Orissa.

The inscribed figure (plate 85A) is seated in meditative pose on a lotus-pedestal with a bull below. In front of the bull seems to be a lamp and two devotees kneeling with their hands joined in adoration. On the top, at either side, is a flying Gandharva with a garland in his hand. There is a round halo behind the head of the Jina. The figure has a well-proportioned body, with half-closed eyes indicating meditation, curly hair, an *uṣṇīṣa* and elongated ears, in Gupta tradition. There is a short inscription in four lines near the right hand of the image, saying that the image of Ṛṣabha-bhaṭṭāraka was donated by one Iḍhaka (?). Joshi thinks that the two devotees in front of the bull on the pedestal may represent Bharata and Bāhubali. This is the earliest inscribed Jaina image discovered so far in Orissa.

The other image of Ṛṣabha stands in *kāyotsarga*-pose on a lotus-pedestal supported by two lions. Just below the pedestal is the *lāñchana*, a bull. Ṛṣabha is flanked on either side by a *caurī*-bearer, equally well carved, and two

[1] S. Beal, *Life of Hiuen Tsang*, London, 1888, p. 162; Beal, *op. cit.*, 1884, II, p. 208.

[2] K.S. Behera in *Babu Chhotelal Jain Smṛti Grantha*, p. 170.

[3] Arjun Joshi, 'A unique Ṛṣabha Image from Podasingidi', *Orissa Historical Research Journal*, X, 3, 1961, pp. 74 ff.; 'Further light on the remains of Podasingidi,' *ibid.*, X, 4, 1962, pp. 30 ff.

flying Gandharvas with garlands in their hands. Over the head are the umbrella and a pair of hands playing on musical instruments. Behind the head is a round halo.

The present figure also exhibits the characteristic features of Gupta tradition: half-closed eyes, elongated ears and a beautiful *jaṭā* as head-dress with some locks falling on the shoulders. The body is proportionate and graceful. On stylistic grounds, this figure also can be dated to the same period as the seated Ṛṣabha described above, viz. the eighth century.

At Podasingidi are still lying some other Jaina images, including those of Pārśvanātha, Ambikā, etc. Further, Srinivasan has also brought a few images, such as those of Pārśvanātha, Mahāvīra, Ambikā, etc., from the same place and placed them on cement platforms in front of the Panch Bhawan at Anandpur.

During the ninth-tenth century, another important centre of Jaina art and religion was Charampa some miles to the north of Bhadrak railway station, District Balasore, where several interesting Jaina images were noticed. Four of them, showing an individualistic style, are now housed in the State Museum, Bhubaneshwar, and have been published by Dash.[1] One of them is a standing Ṛṣabhanātha in *kāyotsarga*-pose, with a beautiful *jaṭā-bhāra*, some locks of which fall on the shoulders of the Tīrthaṅkara. Bharata and Bāhubali flank him as in many other sculptures. Further, at the top behind his head are, as usual, the flying Gandharvas. The back-slab of the image is relieved with the figures of eight planets. Below the pedestal is the bull-cognizance.

The remaining three images represent Ajitanātha, Śāntinātha (plate 85B) and Mahāvīra, all of whom are distinguished by deep cut-marks on the body. It is difficult to explain the significance of these marks, which do not seem to be accidental. It is quite possible that through these marks the artist has tried to indicate the rigours of the austerities which the Tīrthaṅkaras had to go through to attain knowledge and emancipation.

The image of Ajitanātha is seated in a meditative pose, with hands placed on the legs. He has on either side a *caurī*-bearer at the bottom and a flying Gandharva with a garland at the top. Over the head are the three-tiered umbrella and the *kalpa-vṛkṣa*. The hair is arranged as a *jaṭā*-knot at the top

[1] Mahesh P. Dash, 'Jaina antiquities from Charampa', *Orissa Historical Research Journal*, XI, 1, 1962, pp. 50 ff.

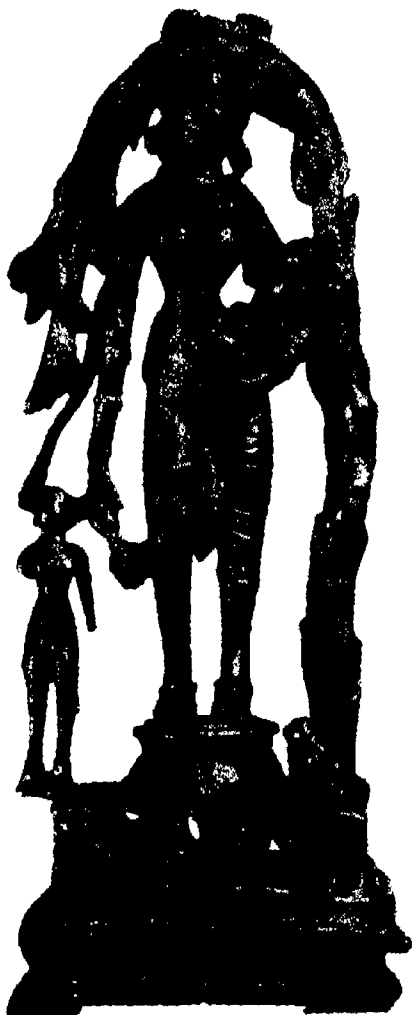
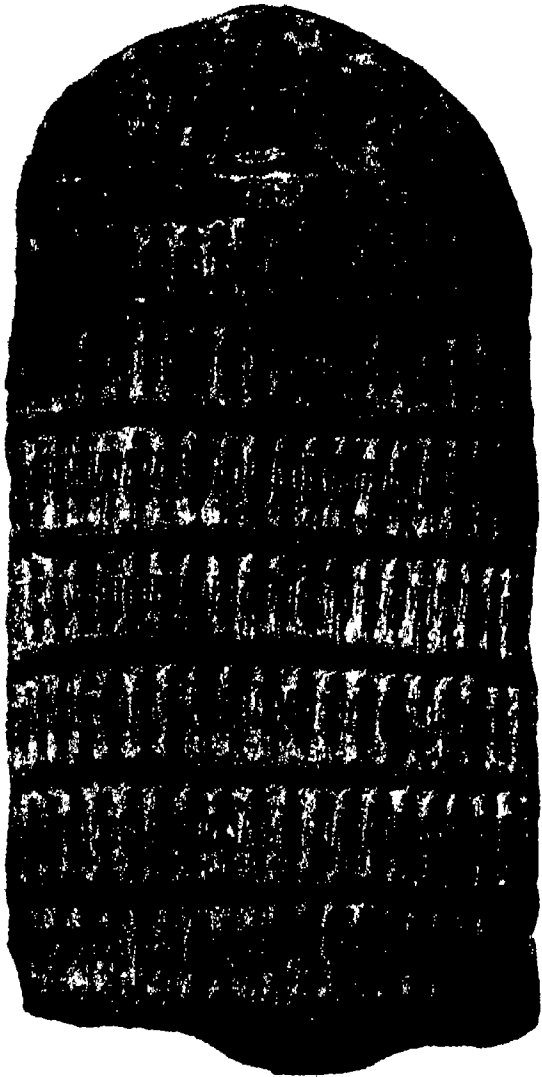
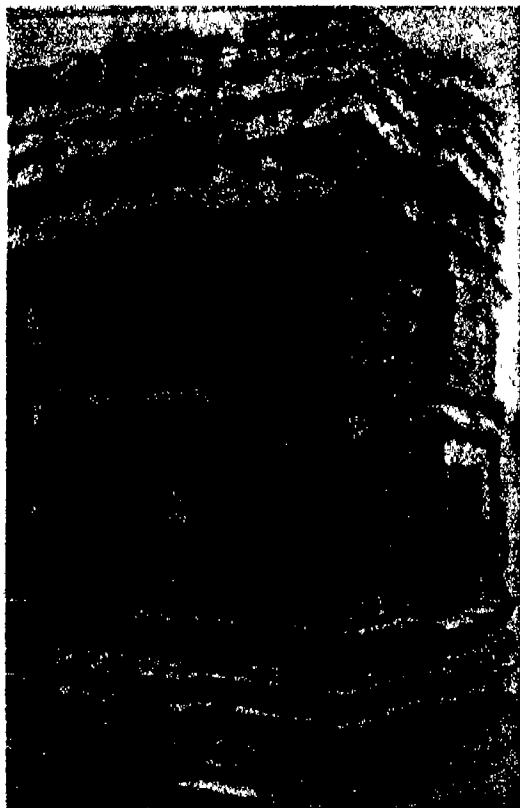
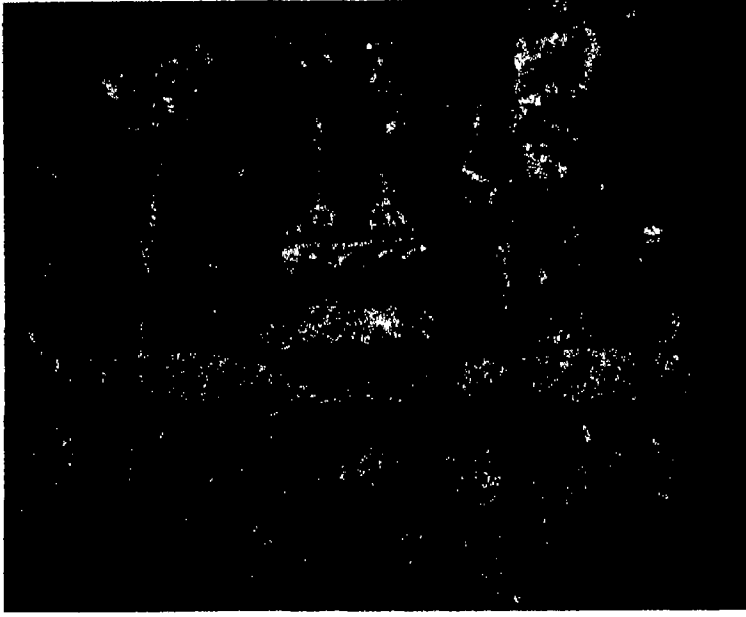
A. Surohor : Tīrthaṅkara Ṛṣabhanātha

B. Nalgora : bronze Yakṣī Ambikā

PLATE 81

A. Sat-Deuliya : *aṣṭāpada-tīrtha*

B. Sat-Deuliya : temple

PLATE 82

A. Ambikanagar : Tīrthaṅkara Ṛṣabhanātha

B. Ambikanagar : temple

A. Pakbira : Tirthaṅkara Śāntınātha, lower part

B. Pakbira : Tirthaṅkara Pārśvanātha, lower part

PLATE 84

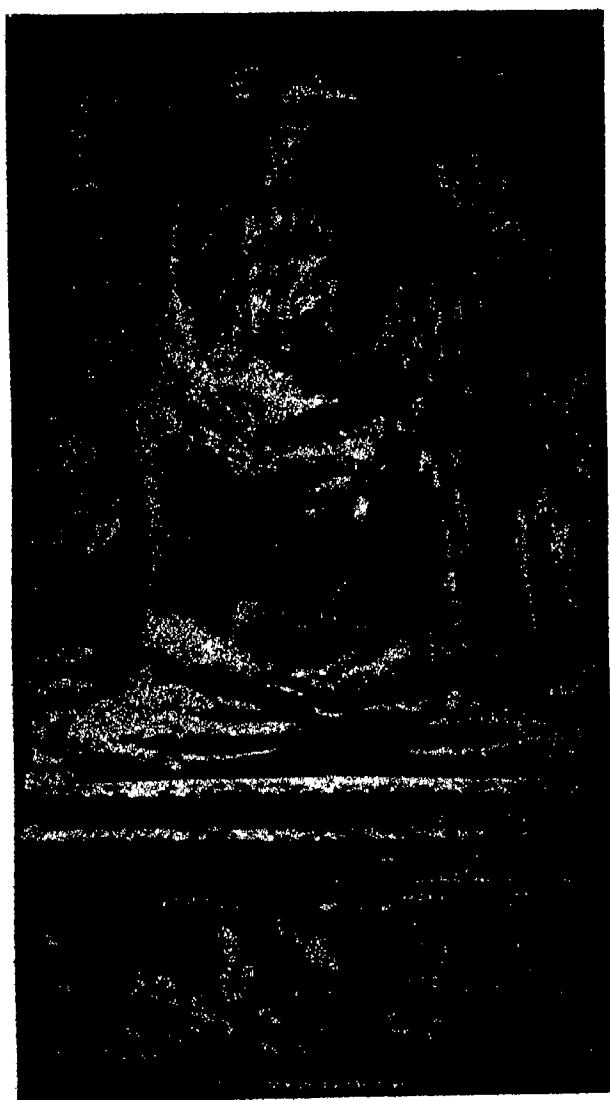
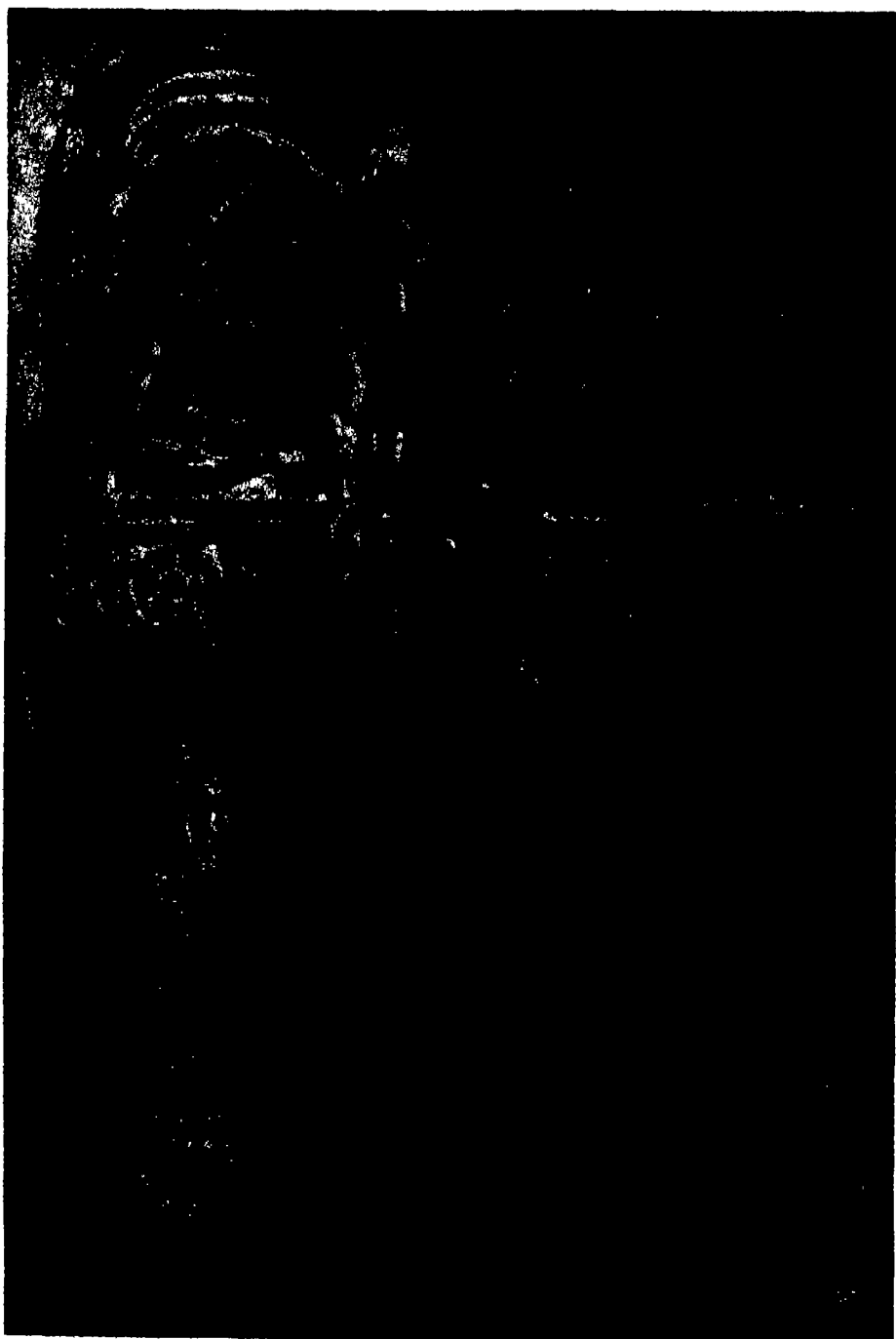
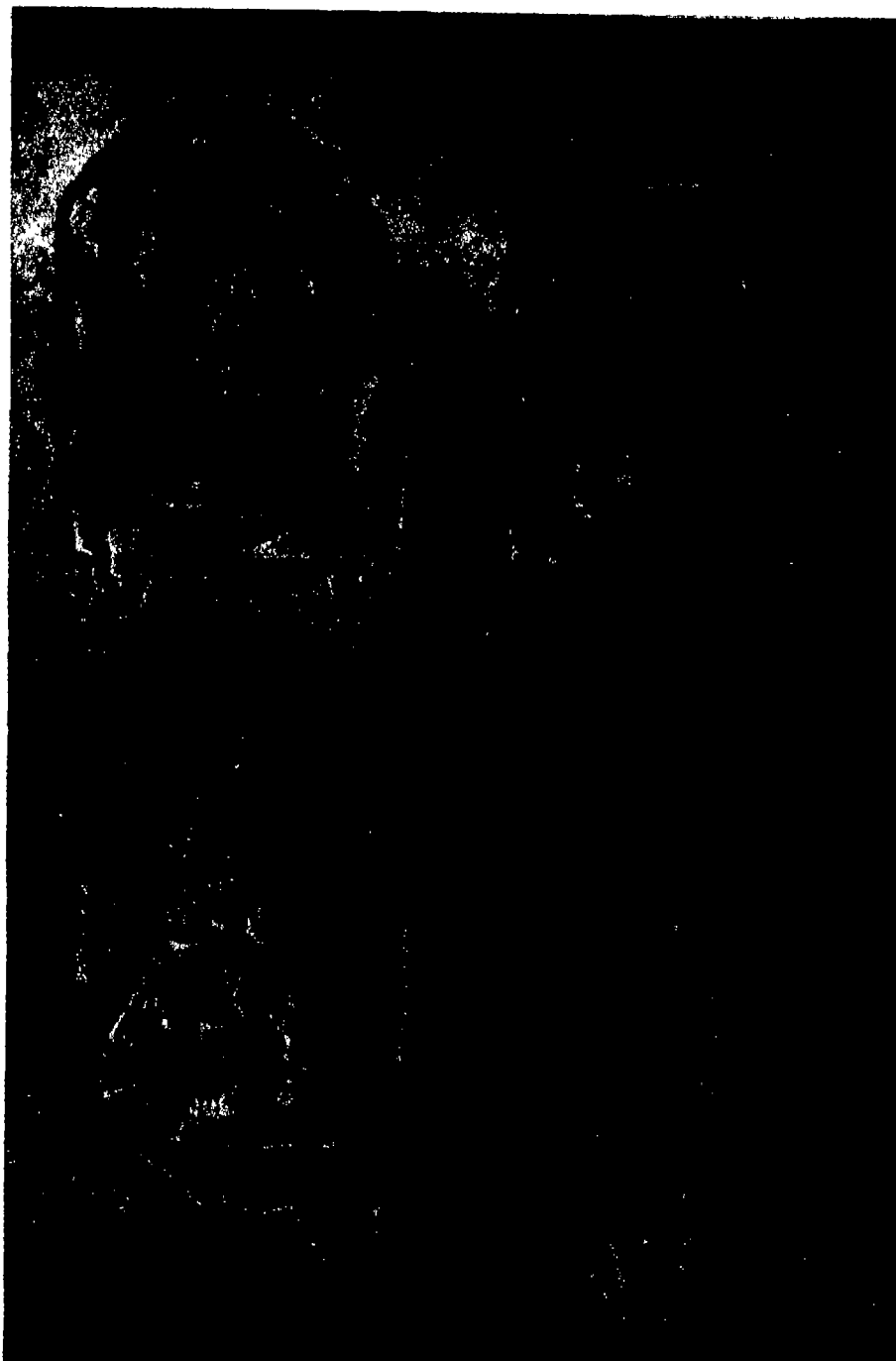
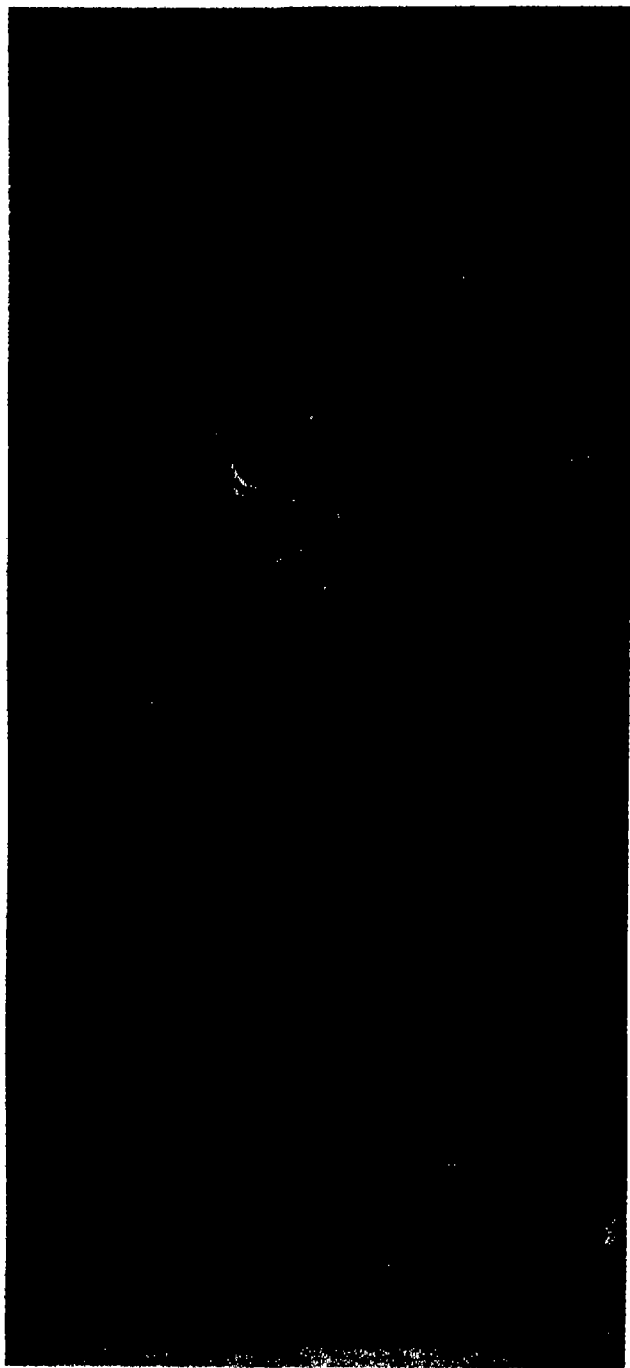
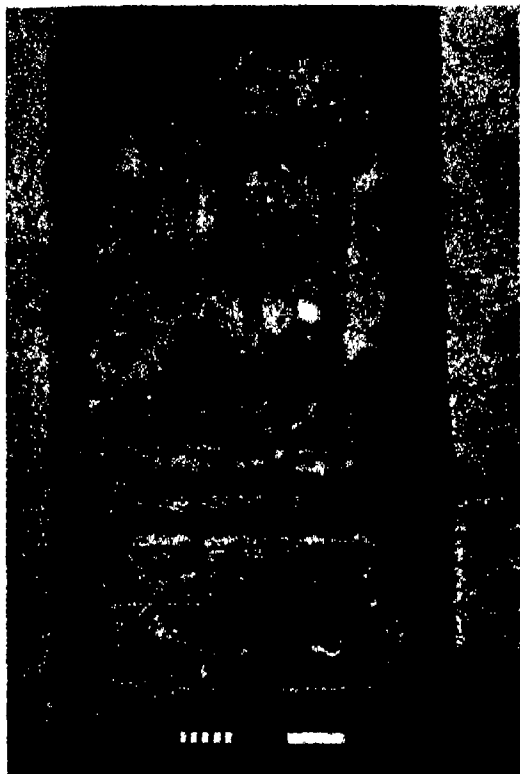
A. Podasingidi : Tīrthaṅkara Ṛṣabhanātha

B. Charampa : Tīrthaṅkara Śāntinātha
(Bhubaneswar Museum)

Khandagiri : Cave 8, Tirthaṅkaras Pārśvanātha and Neminātha with their Yakṣīs below

PLATE 86

Khandagiri : Cave 8, Tīrthaṅkaras Abhinandananātha and Sambhavanātha

Mayurbhanj : Tīrthaṅkara Ṛṣabhanātha (National Museum)

PLATE 88

A. Deoli : *pañcāyatana* temple

B. Rajgir : temple on Vaibhāra hill

PLATE 89

A. Rajgir : Tīrthaṅkara Ṛṣabhanātha on Vaibhāra hill

B. Rajgir : Tīrthaṅkara Munisuvrata with Yakṣī Bahurūpiṇī

A. Bihar : Yakṣī Ambikā (Nahar Collection)

B. Bihar : bronze Yakṣī (National Museum)

PLATE 91

A. Bihar : Tīrthaṅkara Candraprabha (Indian Museum)

B. Surajpahar : rock-cut Tīrthaṅkara

PLATE 92

of the head. The elephant-*lāñchana* is carved below the pedestal. As pointed out by Dash, a peculiar feature in this figure is that Ajitanātha has been shown here in *dhyānāsana*, though according to Jaina tradition he, together with Sambhavanātha and Abhinandana, should be shown in *khaḍgāsana.*

The image of Śāntinātha is also in *dhyānāsana*. The *cauri*-bearers and the Gandharvas are shown in the same way as in the figure of Ajitanātha. The hair-style of both these Tīrthaṅkaras is also similar. Below the pedestal of Śāntinātha is carved his cognizance, the deer.

The remaining image from Charampa is that of Mahāvīra in *kāyotsarga*-pose. The face of the image is badly mutilated. The cognizance-mark, the lion, is carved at each corner of the pedestal. The *caurī*-bearers flanking the Tīrthaṅkara stand on a lotus placed on the heads of the *lāñchanas.*

In the reserve-collection of the Orissa State Museum there are a few interesting stone Jaina images, of *circa* tenth century, from different places of the State. They include a Śāntinātha, a *caumukha* and a Supārśvanātha, all from Jaleswar, District Balasore, a fragmentary Mahāvīra, from Tigiria, a Pārśvanātha, findspot not known, and an Ambikā, from District Koraput. The distinguishing feature of Supārśvanātha is an emblem of five snake-hoods and that of Pārśvanātha a seven-hooded snake.

The Museum also houses a very important group of bronze images found in Banpur. They represent (1) seated Ambikā with a child in her lap under a mango-branch, (2) standing Aśokā or Mānavī, holding the branch of a tree, a bear being shown on the pedestal, (3) seated Pārśvanātha with seven hoods of a serpent, (4) standing Pārśvanātha with the snake-emblem shown on the pedestal, and (5) a beautiful image of Ādinātha standing on a lotus-pedestal in *kāyotsarga*-pose. The image of Ādinātha in the group is an example of fine workmanship, with a beautiful *jaṭā-bhāra,* a serene expression of the face and a graceful outine of the body. It bears an inscription recording that it was the gift of one Śrīkara.

The Banpur bronzes show a skilful execution in a tradition comparable with that of Nālandā and Kurkihar. They do not seem to have been adequately noticed anywhere as yet. Unfortunately, good photographs have not been available for illustration here.

During the medieval period Khandagiri was perhaps the most important centre of Jaina art in Orissa. Here a few caves which had been excavated

much earlier for the residence of monks (chapter 7) were converted into shrines with the addition of sculptures, either loose or cut in the rocky walls in relief. One such cave (Cave 7, Navamuni)[1] has an inscribed record of the Somavaṁśin ruler Uddyotakesarin (eleventh century) on the inner side of the architrave of the verandah; it mentions a Jaina saint called Khalla Śubhacandra, a disciple of Kulacandra, who belonged to Deśi-*gaṇa*. Much greater importance attaches to the cave because of its sculptural wealth. The images of seven Tīrthaṅkaras, carved in low relief on the back wall in a row, with their respective Śāsana-devīs in a lower row, are noteworthy for their artistic and iconographic features. The Tīrthaṅkaras and their Śāsana-devīs represented here are: Ṛṣabhadeva and Cakreśvarī; Ajitanātha and Rohiṇī; Sambhavanātha and Prajñapti; Abhinandana and Vajraśṛṅkhalā; Vāsupūjya and Gāndhārī; Pārśva and Padmāvatī; and Neminātha and Āmrā. It is remarkable that the row of Śāsana-devīs is preceded by a figure of Gaṇeśa.

Again, on the right wall occur the nude figures of Ṛṣabha and Pārśva, this time in high relief and without Śāsana-devīs.

These Tīrthaṅkaras have their usual characteristics, such as three-tiered umbrellas, flanked by a pair of hands playing on cymbals and attendants with flywhisks. But none of them has a halo at the back or the *śrīvatsa*-mark on the chest. The treatment of the coiffure is varied. The Śāsana-devīs, decked with elegant ornaments, wear *dhotīs*, and transparent scarves cover their upper bodies and left shoulders.

Skilfully executed, the sculptures can be ascribed to the tenth-eleventh century.

The adjacent Cave 8 (Bārabhujī) is a veritable treasure-house of sculptures, which may be of a date somewhat later than those of the preceding cave. The name Bārabhujī derives itself from two twelve-armed Śāsana-devīs carved on the side-walls of the verandah of the cave; they are Cakreśvarī, of Ṛṣabhanātha and Rohiṇī, of Ajitanātha. On the walls of the cell are twenty-five figures of Tīrthaṅkaras, one of each Tīrthaṅkara with his Śāsana-devī in a group, and an additional one of Pārśvanātha on the back wall, this time without the Śāsana-devī (plates 86 and 87). The *lāñchanas* of the Tīrthaṅkaras in the group differ from the canonical ones in some cases, and the *śrīvatsa*-mark does not appear on the chest of any. The richly-ornamented Śāsana-devīs

[1] Debala Mitra, *Udayagiri and Khandagiri*, New Delhi, 1960, pp. 53 ff.; Behera, *op. cit.*, p. 170.

appear below the respective Tīrthaṅkaras, some of them on their animal-vehicles. It is of iconographic interest to note that Bahurūpiṇī, the Śāsana-devī of Munisuvrata, the twentieth Tīrthaṅkara, reclines on a couch.[1]

Most of the Khandagiri caves beyond Cave 8, Caves 9 (variously called Triśūla, Sātbakhrā or Mahāvīra), 10, 11 (Lalāṭendukesarī with an inscription of Uddyotakesarin) and 12-15, have greatly suffered from large-scale quarrying, with the result that they have lost their original plan and the sculptures in some of them can now be seen from a much lower level. Belonging to the eleventh-twelfth century, the figures of the Jinas, and less frequently of the Śāsana-devīs, are of iconographic interest. In Cave 9 are three standing images of Ṛṣabhanātha in chlorite, evidently brought from somewhere else and now installed on pedestals. They belong to the age when chlorite became a favourite medium of sculpture in Orissa.

Attention may now be drawn to the Jaina image found in the Mayurbhanj area and a few other places, some of them in private collections.

Recently a beautiful Tīrthaṅkara image from Mayurbhanj attributable to tenth-eleventh century, has been acquired by the National Museum (plate 88). R.P. Mahapatra published in the *Matṛbhūmi* (a daily in Oriya), dated January 12, 1970, an image of Ṛṣabhanātha from Hatadiha in Jeypore Sub-division of Cuttack District, The image, as the author suggests, belongs to the tenth century. The image has the usual characteristics of Ṛṣabhanātha. The back slab is relieved with figures of twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras arranged in two rows of twelve each.

There are about twenty-five Jaina images mostly in stone, housed in the Digambara Jaina Mandir, Chaudhuri Bazar, Cuttack. Six of them have been published by Shahu.[2] The images are mainly of the Tīrthaṅkaras, such as Ṛṣabhanātha, Candraprabha, Śāntinātha, Supārśvanātha and Pārśvanātha, besides a few other panels. Some of them belong to the tenth-eleventh century, while others are of a later date, twelfth century or even later.

Three images, one of Pārśva and two of Ṛṣabha, were found some years back in the bed of the river Katjhuri, a tributary of the Mahānadī. Of them

[1] For this and the subsequent caves, see Mitra, *op. cit.*, 1960, pp. 54 ff. For reclining Bahurūpiṇī, see Mitra's article referred to on p. 165, n. 3, below.

[2] L.N. Shahu, *Jainism in Orissa*. When the present writer visited the Mandir on October 13, 1972, he had the good fortune of meeting the Digambara saint Nemichandraji, who had been spending his *cāturmāsa* there. The saint took great interest in the writer's work and gave him full facilities for the study of the images.

one is missing and the other two are in the custody of a local Babaji at Pratapnagar, some 10 km. from Cuttack.[1]

The history of Jainism in Orissa, as revealed through sculptural art from early historical times to the late medieval period, is fascinating. Speaking of the early medieval period, covered in this chapter, one could say that stylistically Gupta idiom lingered and served as the basis for the Jaina sculptures, as for the sculptures of other denominations, till the eighth-ninth century. During the subsequent centuries local stylization set in, and this developed into stylistic degeneration from the thirteenth century.

BIHAR

When Hiuen Tsang visited Bihar in the seventh century, he found both Jainism and Buddhism flourishing at Rajgir. He further observed that many Digambaras who lived and practised austerities at Rajgir 'turned round with the sun, watching it from its rising to its setting.'[2]

One of the most sacred spots of the Jainas at Rajgir is the Vaibhāra hill, on the top of which are the remains of an ancient Jaina temple (plate 89B). The temple, as exposed, consists of a central chamber, surrounded by a court with rows of cells all around. The central chamber and the cells were provided with niches for containing images.[3]

Besides the image of Neminātha of the period of Candragupta II (above, p. 123), a seated image of Ṛṣabha deserves special mention (plate 90A). The Tīrthaṅkara is endowed with a *jaṭā-mukuṭa*. On the pedestal of the image are two bulls and a wheel. This image is very important inasmuch as it bears on the base an inscription the palaeography of which helps in fixing its date. The inscription, in nail-headed characters of the eighth century, reads: *Ācārya-Vasantanandir(no) dedharmo=yaḥ (deya-dharmo=yaṁ)*, meaning that the image was the pious gift of the teacher Vasantanandin.[4] Chanda observes: 'This image, which may be assigned to the eighth century A.D., marks the transition from the Gupta art to the late medieval or Pāla art in eastern India. A

[1] The present writer gathered this information at the time of his stay in Cuttack.

[2] Beal, *op. cit.*, 1884, p. 149.

[3] M.H. Quaraishi and A. Ghosh, *Rājgir*, New Delhi, 1958, pp. 16-17. [The date of the temple is uncertain. Built of brick-bats, it was meant to house sculptures of different periods, from the early Gupta (above, p. 124) to the eighth century.—Editor.]

[4] Ramaprasad Chanda in *Archaeological Survey of India, Annual Report, 1925-26*, Calcutta 1928, p. 126; M.H. Quaraishi and Ghosh, *op. cit.*, p. 18.

very conspicuous transitional feature is its throne with a single row of lotus-petals pointing upwards on the throne. On the seated images of the Gupta period, the lotus has no place, while in the later medieval images the throne is decorated by two rows of lotus-petals, the upper pointing upward and the lower pointing downward. Certain features of this figure, such as the palm of the hand and the soles of the feet, indicate a tendency to fresh observation of nature. Though often anatomically more correct, the later medieval sculptures lack the breadth and the depth of feeling of the Gupta sculptures. The limbs of this image of Ṛṣabha are stiff and the stiffness of modelling is emphasized by sharp angles made by the elbows.[1]

The cells round the central chamber of the temple contain sculptures representing Pārśvanātha, Mahāvira, a seated image with a horse on the pedestal, i.e. Sambhavanātha, a Jaina couple with a child under the branch of a tree, etc.

In a modern Jaina temple on the Udayagiri hill was noticed by Chanda a seated image of Pārśvanātha. Traces of letters on the lower part of the base make it attributable to the ninth century. 'This image,' says Chanda, 'has certain unique features. Though its beautifully modelled face shows the Yogin absorbed in meditation, the sturdy, thickset body better becomes an athlete than a Yogin. The disposition of the body of the seven-headed *nāga*, the cognizance of Pārśva coiling round the Jina seated on the lotus-throne, has a splendid decorative effect. The sculptor who modelled this image was a bold innovator.'[2]

Another interesting image of about the same age, also from Rajgir, is that of Munisuvrata, with his Śāsana-devi Bahurūpiṇī shown in a reclining position on a cot below the pedestal of the Jina (plate 90B). This image is enshrined in the Vaibhāra temple. There are also a few other such images known to us.[3] One of them belongs to the collection of Mr. Bijoy Singh Nahar, Calcutta,[4] and another is in Cave 8 of Khandagiri, mentioned above (p. 162). It is, however, difficult to say, why Bahurūpiṇī is shown in a reclining position (which reminds us of almost the same position of Māyā when she saw in dream the

[1] Chanda, *op. cit.*, p. 126.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 127.

[3] Debala Mitra in *Journal of the Asiatic Society*, I, 1959, pp. 38-39.

[4] The findspot of this image is not known, but stylistically it belongs to the Bihar school of art. I am deeply grateful to Mr Bijoy Singh Nahar who very kindly allowed me to study his collection of Jaina sculptures and also gave permission to have their photographs.

descent of the Bodhisattva in the form of a white elephant into her womb), while the other Śāsana-devīs are shown in a seated position.[1]

Also belonging to the Nahar collection in Calcutta are a few other Jaina images from Bihar. One of them shows a Tīrthaṅkara seated in meditation on the top, and below a seated couple under the spreading branches of a tree. A child is shown on the lap of the female figure. Another is the upper fragment of a Tīrthaṅkara, ascribable to about the ninth century. A seated Ambikā in the collection seems to be from Bihar and is stylistically attributable to the ninth-tenth century (plate 91A). The National Museum has recently acquired an excellent piece of bronze Ambikā image of Nālandā workmanship of comparable age (plate 91B).

In March 1974 twenty-nine Jaina bronzes, of which twenty-seven are Tīrthaṅkaras, were discovered at Aluara in District Dhanbad; they are now housed in the Patna Museum. Most of the Tīrthaṅkara images in the hoard have *ūrṇā* on their foreheads. The palms and fingers of all the standing Tīrthaṅkaras touch their body. The pedestals on which the images stand are complex in design, with various tiers. Cognizances are present in all cases, and through them can be identified Ṛṣabhadeva, Candraprabha, Ajitanātha, Śāntinātha, Kunthunātha, Pārśvanātha, Neminātha, Mahāvīra and Ambikā. Some of them can be attributed, stylistically, to the early eleventh century.

Noteworthy in this connexion is a bronze Ādinātha figure from Manbhum,[2] which is now preserved in the Asutosh Museum of Indian Art, Calcutta. Again, mention may be made here of a snake-hooded female figure in stone, housed in Archaeological Museum, Nālandā, which has been doubtfully identified as Jaina Yakṣī Padmāvatī (whose Brāhmaṇical counterpart is Manasā), assignable to the ninth-tenth century.[3]

Among the other interesting Jaina figures of the same period from Bihar is a Candraprabha figure in stone, now housed in the Indian Museum (plate 92A).

[[1] Mitra, *op. cit.*, 1959, has given valid reasons, to show that the previous identification of the reclining lady as the mother of the Tīrthaṅkara is untenable.—Editor.]

[[2] The old District of Manbhum is now broken up into two Districts, Dhanbad (in Bihar) and Purulia (in West Bengal). It has not been possible to ascertain from which of these two Districts the bronze comes.—Editor.]

[3] Shah, *op. cit.*, p. 17. Padmāvatī is a very important deity in the Jaina pantheon. The development of her personality from her position as a Śāsanadevī to that of an independent deity is interesting.

During the period Jaina religion and art found an important centre also in the District of Singhbhum, as is evident from certain existing relics of Benisagar, ascribed by Beglar to the seventh century. The relics of Benisagar should however be subjected to a fresh enquiry.[1]

ASSAM

Jainism seems to have feebly penetrated into Assam during the medieval period, leaving only very few vestiges. The Jaina images in relief inside caves (plate 92B), at Surajpahar, District Goalpara, are, however, interesting in this regard.

P. BANERJEE

[1] J.D. Beglar, *Archaeological Survey of India Reports*, XIII, Calcutta, 1882, pp. 69-71. [When the present editor visited Benisagar in 1937, he found only a few Brāhmaṇical sculptures. —Editor.]

CHAPTER 16

CENTRAL INDIA

EXAMPLES OF EARLY MEDIEVAL ART IN CENTRAL INDIA

THE UDAIGIRI JAINA CAVE WITH ITS TĪRTHAṄKARA FIGURES, THE RECENTLY-discovered inscribed Jaina images of the reign of Mahārājādhirāja Rāmagupta from Durjanpur near Vidiśā, both of Gupta date, and the standing Jina figure from Vidiśā of late Gupta age have been mentioned in chapter 12. The last shows a continuation of the classical plastic tradition of central India. Although no corresponding Jaina shrine has survived at Besnagar, we get a fair idea of such structures from the group of Jaina shrines at Kundalpur (District Damoh), which is not far from Vidiśā. They are plain flat-roofed shrines built of ashlar, continuing the tradition of the early-Gupta temple-type, comprising on plan just a square sanctum and an entrance-porch with a simple low moulded plinth (plate 93A). Unlike the classical examples, their porch has heavy square pillars, decorated with only *ghaṭa-pallava* design at the base and the capital carrying brackets of a plain curved profile. With such plain pillars and equally plain door-frames, these shrines are datable to a period not earlier than the eighth century.

In Bare Baba at Kundalpur there is a large number of loose sculptures representing Tīrthaṅkaras and Yakṣīs (plates 93B and 94), some of them of iconographic value but all with heavy and inelegant features.

The Jaina shrine known as Pataini-Dei at Pithaora, District Satna, which is ascribable to *circa* 900, perpetuates the tradition of the flat-roofed shrine till a late period (plates 95A) .Its *tri-śākha* door-frame has stencilled lotus-scrolls on the *stambha-śākhās*, which support the architrave embellished with three niched figures of seated Jinas (plate 95B), and shows on the lower portion figures of Gaṅgā and Yamunā in *atibhaṅga*-postures, flanked by Yakṣa *dvāra-pālas* holding *gadā* and serpent as principal attributes[1] (plate 96).

[[1] An elaborately-carved Ambikā statue from Pataini-Dei temple has found its way to the Allahabad Museum, Pramod Chandra, *Stone Sculpture in the Allahabad Museum*, Poona, 1971 (?), p. 162. The four-armed goddess, with a *karaṇḍa-mukuṭa* and a halo of stellate lotus,

Satna District has also yielded a seated image of Jina Pārśvanātha, flanked by Indra and Upendra, standing in elegant *tri-bhaṅga* and carrying *caurī*, which is now deposited in the Tulasi Ashram Museum at Ramban. The taut modelling of the Jina figure, with a face radiating meditative calm and spiritual effulgence, and the supple stance of the divine attendants suggest the proximity of the figure to the classical source of inspiration, indicating a date of *circa* seventh century.

The Jaina sculptures from Sira Pahari have been mentioned in chapter 12. From the site of Nachna itself, near which Sira Pahari is situated, and which is well-known for its Gupta and early Pratīhāra Brāhmaṇical temples, come two seated images of Ādinātha and a standing figure of Pārśvanātha of *circa* eighth century.

The neighbouring region of Jabalpur and Ṭewar (ancient Tripurī) has yielded a number of Jaina images, dating from *circa* ninth to eleventh centuries. Of these, a seated image of Jina Dharmanātha with an elaborate *parikara*, now in the Central Museum, Nagpur, is a noteworthy Kalacuri sculpture of *circa* tenth century (plate 97A) and is similar in composition and artistic execution to a seated image of Ādinātha from Tripurī, now in the Indian Museum, Calcutta.[1] [Still lying at Tripurī are a number of sculptures of Tīrthaṅkaras (plate 97B) and Yakṣīs including a group of three, the pedestal of which bears the dedicatory inscription of one Vīranandin, in characters of *circa* ninth century (plate 98A).—Editor.]

The hoard of Jaina sculptures from Rajanpur-Khinkhini, exhibited in the Nagpur Museum, has a ninth-century image of Sarasvatī with disproportionately large breasts and a peculiar metallic hardness. The same hoard includes two ninth-century sculptures of standing Jinas, Pārśvanātha and Śāntinātha, recalling marked influence of the Gaṅga school of art.

Gandhawal, District Dewas in Malwa, is a prolific site for Jaina images of artistic excellence, assignable to *circa* ninth century (plate 98B). The site has yielded a colossal standing Jina image flanked by Indra and Upendra as

has four (broken) arms. Two youths flank her; at their feet are a male and a female devotee, flanked by two four-armed goddesses. Those on the left are labelled Prajāpati (Prajñapati?) and on the right *Vajrasaṅkhalā* (Vajraśṛṅkhalā ?). The compartmented flanking pilasters have attendant goddesses, all labelled. The sculpture has been assigned to the eleventh century. —Editor.]

[1] U.P. Shah, *Studies in Jaina Art*, Banaras, 1955, fig. 42.

caurī-bearers, in addition to sculptures of other Jinas like Śāntinātha, Sumatinātha and Suvidhinātha and figures of Vidyā-devīs and Jaina Yakṣas and Yakṣīs.

In the Raipur Museum is an interesting representation of *sahasra-kūṭa*, with four faces and rising in five tiers, each with rows of seated and haloed Tīrthaṅkaras (plate 99).

According to the Jaina *Prabandhas*, a king Āma, who ruled over Kanauj and Gwalior during the ninth century, built a temple at Kanauj, 100 cubits high, and erected a golden image of Mahāvīra. He also set up an image of Mahāvīra at Gwalior, 23 cubits high, and is further said to have built Jaina temples at Mathurā, Anahilavāḍa, Modhera, etc.[1] King Āma of the Jaina tradition is likely to be Pratīhāra Nāgabhaṭa II (died A.D. 883), who is known to have had Jaina leanings. The veracity of this tradition is attested by the early medieval Jaina remains encountered at these places.

Gwalior Fort, which is known for the rock-cut Jaina colossi of the Tomara period, has a remarkable group of rock-sculptures of Ambikā Yakṣī and her consort seated in *lalitāsana* and flanked by female attendants, assignable to *circa* eighth century.[2] These figures are distinguished by a soft supple modelling and a heavy build and are reminiscent of Pāñcika and Hārītī figures of the Kushan and Gupta periods. Ambikā has an oval face with half-closed eyes and an elaborate bun-shaped headdress, round tight-pressed breasts, with folds of skin on the neck and the abdomen, bulging belly and broad hips. The Yakṣa has a corpulent figure with ampler dimensions and a pot-belly.

Gwalior Fort has also yielded three loose Jaina sculptures of about the same time, one depicting standing Ādinātha, surrounded by twenty-three Jinas in a seated posture, forming a *caturviṁśati-paṭṭa*, a second depicting Ādinātha associated with the Nandīśvara-dvīpa and a third representing Pārśvanātha standing under a canopy of serpent-hoods, being lustrated by a group of handsome half-human Nāgas, wearing gorgeous wigs.[3] The site of Amrol, situated some distance south-east of Gwalior and known for its early medieval Mahādeva temple, has also yielded contemporary sculptures of Pārśvanātha and Ādinātha, the latter sensitively modelled and surrounded by small figures

[1] *The Age of Imperial Kanauj*, ed. by R.C. Majumdar and A.D. Pusalker, Bombay, 1955, p. 289.

[2] Klaus Bruhn, *The Jina Images of Deogarh*, Leiden, 1969, figs. 18-18A.

[3] Michael W. Meister, 'Āma, Amrol and Jainism in Gwalior Fort', *Journal of the Oriental Institute, Baroda*, XXII, pp. 354-58.

of Yakṣas seated in *sukhāsana* on lotus-seats linked together by exquisitely-carved lotus-scrolls.

Badoh in District Vidisha is a reputed site of early medieval (Pratīhāra) art and architecture, largely pertaining to the Brāhmaṇical sects. The site also has a fairly large Jaina temple showing a quadrangular arrangement of *deva-kulikās*, each with a square sanctum, roofed by a *latina* Nāgara *śikhara* of *circa* tenth century. Despite their poor preservation, enough remains to show that the *deva-kulikās*, numbered twenty-four, enshrining all the Jinas, and the central one with the tallest *śikhara* was probably dedicated to Ṛṣabhanātha.

Gyaraspur in the same District is another well-known site abounding in remains of early medieval temples and sculptures of Brāhmaṇical and Jaina religions. The site is dotted with scores of loose Jaina images of *circa* ninth century, representing standing or seated Jinas and supple figures of Jaina Yakṣas and Yakṣīs shown seated in *lalitāsana* or standing in elegant *tri-bhaṅga* (plate 100A). Of the old temples at the site the best preserved is the Jaina temple known as the Mālādevī temple, which indeed constitutes a landmark in the development of the Pratīhāra architecture.

TEMPLES

Mālādevī temple, Gyaraspur

Partly rock-cut and partly structural, this temple is a *sāndhāra-prāsāda*, consisting of a *mukha-maṇḍapa*, a *maṇḍapa*, an *antarāla*, and a sanctum with ambulatory (plates 101 and 102). The sanctum is *pañca-ratha* on plan and is crowned by a curvilinear Nāgara *śikhara* (plate 103).

The *pīṭha* (basement) shows the usual mouldings, executed boldly, and supports the *jaṅghā* which is relieved by balconied windows or niches crowned by pediments of *caitya*-arches (plate 104). Each of its shorter sides shows two balconied windows, while the longer sides show three such windows each, two projecting from the *maṇḍapa* and one from the sanctum. The windows, being mainly decorative, admit extremely inadequate light.

There are six projections on the southern façade, three larger and three smaller, all embellished with niches on the *jaṅghā* as well as the *pīṭha*. The figures carved on the niches of the *jaṅghā* comprise *dik-pālas* and Jaina Yakṣas and Yakṣīs, while the relief-panels on the *pīṭha* show human faces and rich scrolls.

The *śikhara* is of the *pañca-ratha* type and is squat with a marked triangular appearance, clustered by eight minor *śikharas*. The roofs of other compartments are damaged, but from what has survived there is no doubt that these were pyramidal, consisting of horizontal tiers, alternating with recessed courses carved with diamond-pattern.

The base of the roof shows on the south façade a niche containing an image of eight-armed Cakreśvarī seated on Garuḍa. The goddess carries *pāśa* and *vajra* in the two surviving right hands, and *vajra* and *cakra* in the two surviving left hands and is flanked on each side by a female attendant. In the proper left niche occurs a seated Jina, while in the right niche occurs Yakṣī Ambikā seated in *lalitāsana* and carrying a child. On the corresponding north side, the niches show Yakṣī Cakreśvarī flanked by female attendants. In the proper right niche appears a seated Jina, while in the left niche occurs Ambikā seated in *lalitāsana*.

The niches of the *jaṅghā* are described below from the south-east in the *pradakṣiṇā* order.

Niche 1 on the south-east corner of the *jaṅghā* shows an eight-armed goddess seated in *lalitāsana* on a lotus with a bird-mount having two heads. The surviving right hands of the goddess carry a *gadā*-like object, lotus-flower and *caurī*, while the left hands carry *caurī*, flag and bow. She may be Yakṣī Padmāvatī riding *kukkutāhi*.

Niche 2 on the south face shows a four-armed goddess seated in *lalitāsana* on a lotus, carrying sword, *cakra*, shield and *śaṅkha*. The elephant-mount is depicted below the the lotus-seat. She may represent Puruṣadattā, the Yakṣī of the fifth Jina.

The remaining six niches of the south façade (niches 3-8) are empty, but there were minor niches in the intervening recesses, flanking the projections of the sanctum. These invariably show representations of Yakṣa Dharaṇendra and Yakṣī Padmāvati.

The adjoining lateral faces of the recess also show figures in miniature niches. The western niche shows an image of a goddess seated in *lalitāsana* on a crocodile, carrying *varada*, *abhaya*, blue lotus and water-vessel, while the niche on the eastern face shows an eight-armed goddess seated in *lalitāsana* on a lotus, carrying sword and chain in the two surviving right hands, and a bell, shield and net-like object in the three surviving left hands. A horse is depicted

below the lotus-seat. The goddess may represent Manovegā, the Yakṣī of the sixth Tīrthaṅkara.

The niche on the western recess of the southern *bhadra* shows two-armed Yakṣī Padmāvatī standing under a canopy of serpent-hoods. The miniature niches on the adjoining lateral faces also show each an image of a goddess seated in *lalitāsana*.

Niche 9 on the west face is empty, while the only niche in the recess of the western *bhadra* shows an image of two-armed Padmāvatī standing under a canopy of serpent-hoods, carrying blue lotus in the right hand, the left hand resting over a staff. In the adjoining miniature niche is placed an image of a four-armed goddess seated in *lalitāsana* with a crocodile-mount below. She holds flower in the lower right hand, while her upper right hand is placed on the *sīmanta*, her upper left carries mirror and the lower left hand is kept over her lap.

Niches 10-11 on the west face and 12-13 on the north face were never built since the north-west corner of the temple consisted of the rocky ledge of the hill.

Niche 14 on the north projection of the *antarāla* shows a standing image of two-armed Kubera carrying skull-cup and purse, the latter placed on a pair of jars representing *nidhis*. In the niche below niche 14 occurs a four-armed standing goddess carrying *abhaya*, lotus-flower, blue lotus and probably a mirror.

Niche 15 below the north balcony of the *mahā-maṇḍapa* harbours the image of a twelve-armed goddess seated in *lalitāsana*. She carries sword, mirror, flower, *cakra* and *vajra* in the five surviving right hands, while the two surviving left hands hold lotus-flower and fruit. A defaced animal resembling boar is depicted as mount.

Niche 16 on the north projection of the *maṇḍapa* shows a two-armed image of Indra seated in *lalitāsana* over an elephant-mount. He carries *vajra* in his left hand, while his right hand is broken.

Below niche 16 the basement niche contains image of a twelve-armed goddess seated in *lalitāsana* on a wheeled iron cart. She carries *abhaya*, *triśūla*, *cakra*, shield, bow, toilet-box and fruit in the left hands. From the wheeled iron cart (*lohāsana*), the goddess may be identified as Ajitā or Rohiṇī, the Yakṣī of the second Tīrthaṅkara.

Niche 17 carries the image of a four-armed goddess seated in *lalitāsana* with the head and hands broken. Niche 18 on the eastern end of the north face contains the sculpture of a four-armed goddess seated in *lalitāsana* over a fish. She holds *varada*, *abhaya* and net in the surviving hands and may be identified as Kandarpā, the Śvetāmbara Yakṣī of the fifteenth Tīrthaṅkara.

Niche 19 on the north-east corner of the *jaṅghā* shows the consort of Revanta seated in *lalitāsana*. She is four-armed and carries *vajra, khaṭvāṅga*, net and umbrella. A horse is depicted below the seat.

The *mukha-maṇḍapa* of the temple is supported on four pillars. The ceiling is triangular with a lenticular compartment of cusped and coffered design of the *samakṣipta*-variety. There is similar ceiling between the two inner pillars of the *mukha-maṇḍapa* and the doorway of the *maṇḍapa*.

The *maṇḍapa*-doorway is of the *pañca-śākha* variety, the *śākhās* showing respectively designs of scrolls, serpents, couples and two pilasters. The couples alternate with *bhūtas* or *pāśa*-like design. The *lalāṭa-bimba* shows an image of eight-armed Cakreśvarī riding on Garuḍa. In three of the surviving left hands she holds lotus, *cakra* and fruit. In her only surviving right hand she holds lotus-stalk. The door-jambs show at the base figures of Gaṅgā and Yamunā, each flanked by attendants and *dvāra-pālas*.

The *maṇḍapa* is centrally supported on four pillars. Its ceiling is octagonal and probably of the *samakṣipta*-variety, consisting of four diminishing courses of *gajatālus*, which are only partly preserved. The lintels and architraves of the *maṇḍapa*-ceiling are decorated with two rows of miniature shrines. Against the southern wall of the *maṇḍapa* is placed a colossal standing image of Jina flanked by two male devotees.

All the pillars of the interior are alike in shape and design and are heavily decorated. The shaft of the pillar is square at the lower and upper sections with a fluted sixteen-sided middle section decorated with chain-and-bell designs. The pillar-capital comprises a flattened circular cushion, a square abacus decorated with *kīrttimukha* and scrolls, an *āmalaka* and an upper abacus decorated with foliage and two square cushions of the ribbed pattern. The pillar-capitals are surmounted by brackets of curved profile decorated with Nāgas in *añjali-mudrā*.

Some charming decorative motifs include a peculiar variety of *kīrttimukha* (plate 100B) and richly-carved *ghaṭa-pallava*.

The sanctum is entered through an elaborate doorway generally resembling in appearance that of the *maṇḍapa*. Of its two crowning architraves, the lower one shows a row of nine standing Jinas in niches. The right extremity of the doorway-lintel shows *mithunas* bearing garlands and a standing four-armed Vidyā-devī holding *varada*, book and water-vessel. On the corresponding left extremity occurs a defaced image of four-armed standing Sarasvatī carrying *vīṇā*. On the door-jambs occur Gaṅgā and Yamunā, each flanked by a pair of *dvāra-pālas*. The *dvāra-pālas* facing east carry *gadā* in one of their hands.

The ambulatory round the sanctum is entered from either side by a doorway, each decorated on the lintel and architrave with miniature shrines and figures. The southern doorway of the ambulatory shows on the architrave figures of nine Jinas on the lowest register, four Jinas in the middle register and seven Jinas in the uppermost register. The door-jambs are carved with river-goddess flanked by *dvāra-pālas*. The northern doorway of the ambulatory shows on the lintel the Sapta-mātṛkās, represented, as dancing, flanked by Gaṇeśa and Vīrabhadra.

The inner ambulatory has three major niches on each side. The main niche on the south shows a seated Jina, while a niche on the north shows Yakṣī Cakreśvarī.

The mature decorative and architectural motifs, combined with the fairly-developed iconography of this temple, would indicate a late ninth-century date for this building, which marks the culmination of the Pratīhāra architectural style of central India.

GROUP OF TEMPLES, DEOGARH[1]

The eastern sector of the fort at Deogarh has a group of about thirty-one Jaina temples (fig. IX), dating from the ninth to the twelfth centuries and even later and is one of the noteworthy sites of central India for the study of the development of Jaina art and architecture during these centuries. That there also existed at the site a Jaina temple of *circa* seventh-eighth centuries is attested by the end of some architectural fragments and a Jina image in the post-Gupta style.

Of the extant temples the majority belong to the tenth to twelfth centuries, specimens of the two earlier centuries being indeed very few. With the exception

[[1] This group also contains temples and shrines of a period later than the one covered by in this Part, but it has been found convenient not to split up the group.—Editor.]

of a few temples like Temples 11, 12 and 28, all of them are structurally unpretentious and small in size. They are either square or rectangular on plan and comprise a hall with or without a projecting cella at the back but normally containing a frontal verandah or portico. Mostly they have flat roofs and in some cases have crowning kiosks.

While Temples 25 to 31 are situated in a close cluster, the remaining ones constitute a loose nebulous group, from which Temples 1, 2 and 10 are each scattered at some distance.

To the ninth century belong Temples 12 and 15 and seven smaller shrines clustering around Temple 12, besides Temple 22 and 24(a). On the basis of

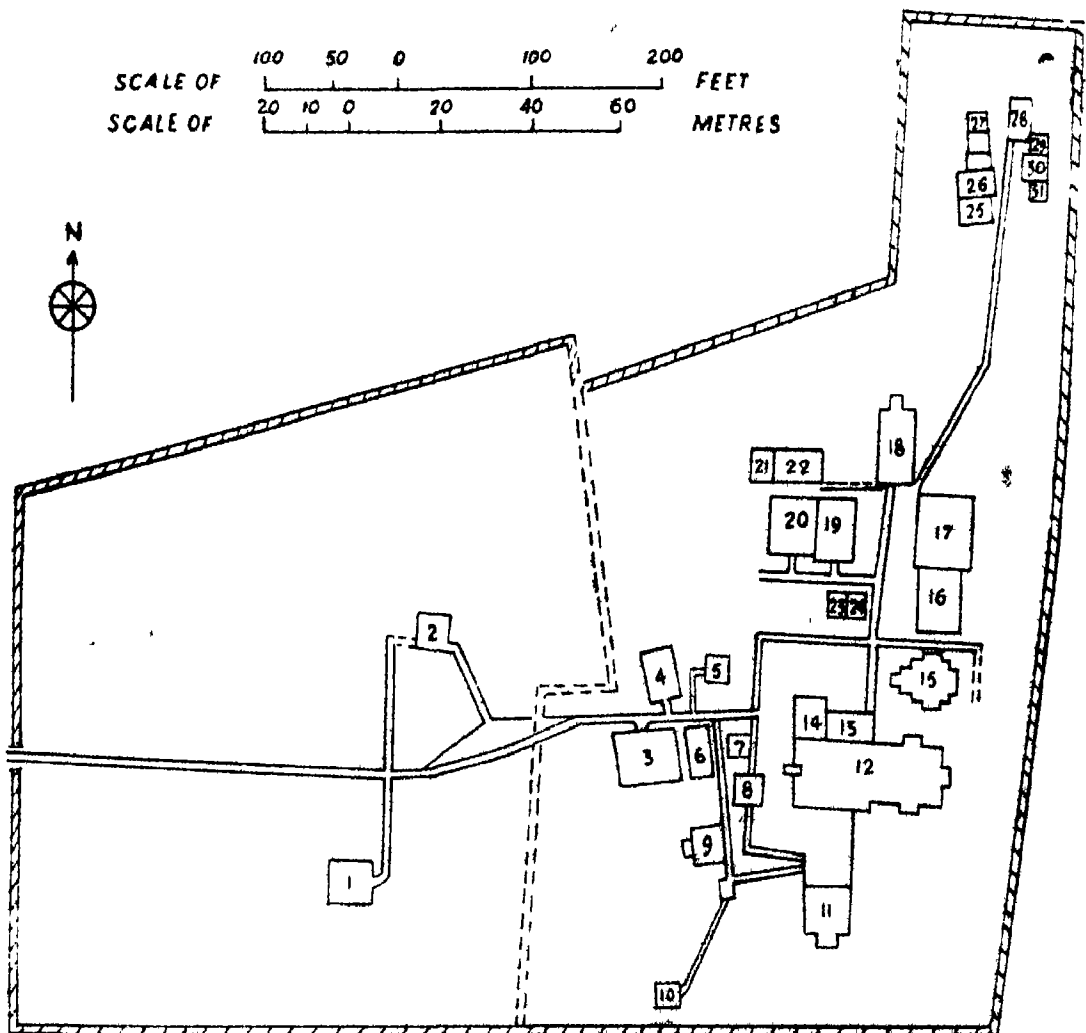
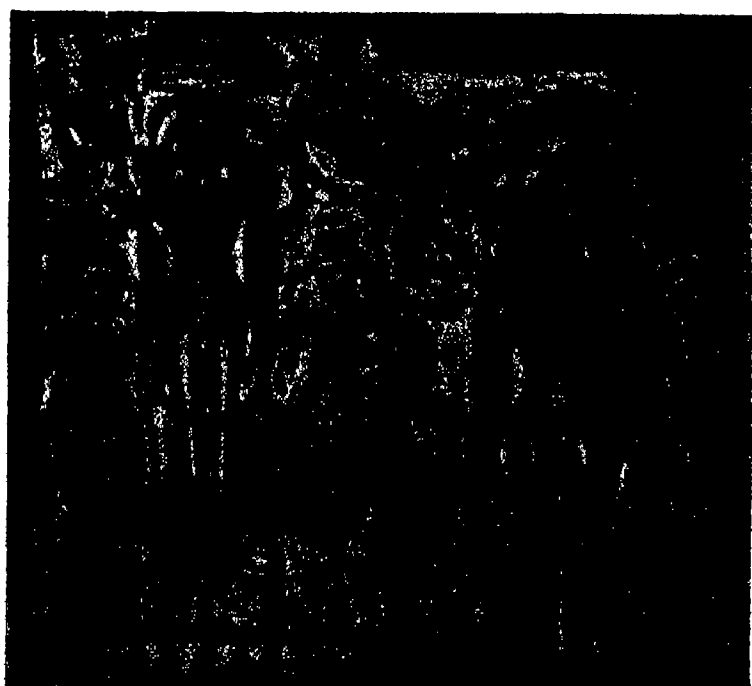
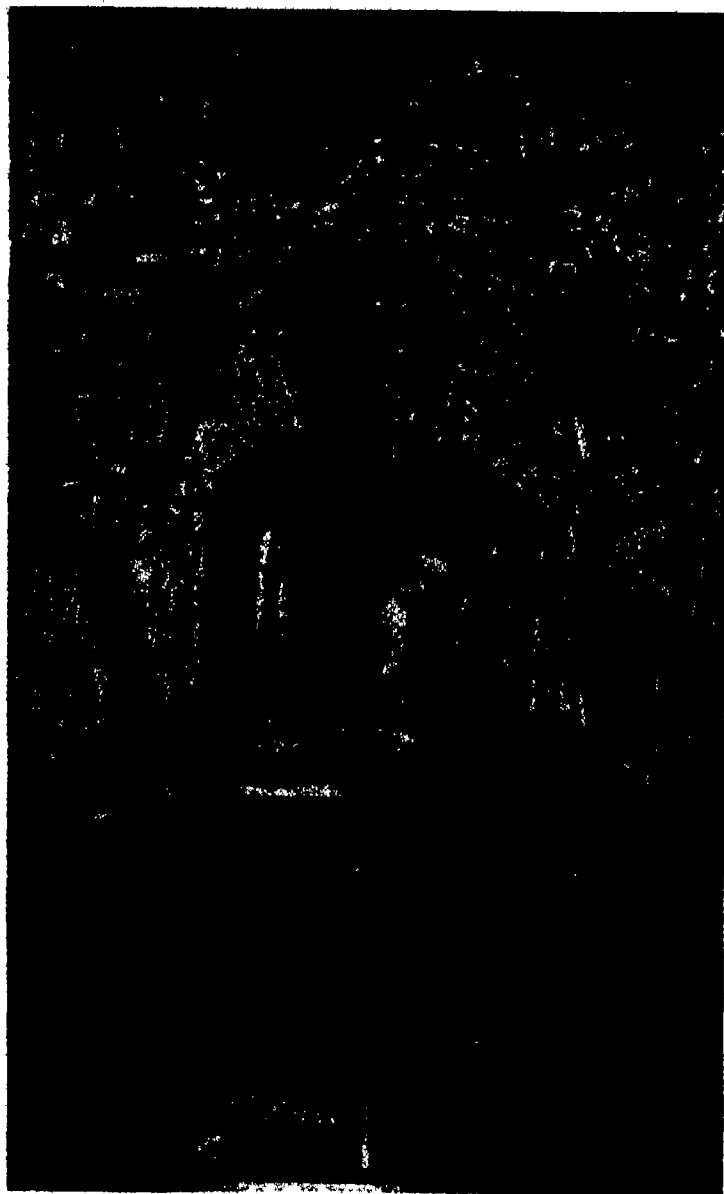



FIG. IX. Deogarh : layout of temples

A Kundalpur : temple

B. Kundalpur : two Tīrthaṅkaras

PLATE 93

A. Kundalpur : Tīrthaṅkara Abhinandananātha

B. Kundalpur : Tīrthaṅkara Pārśvanātha

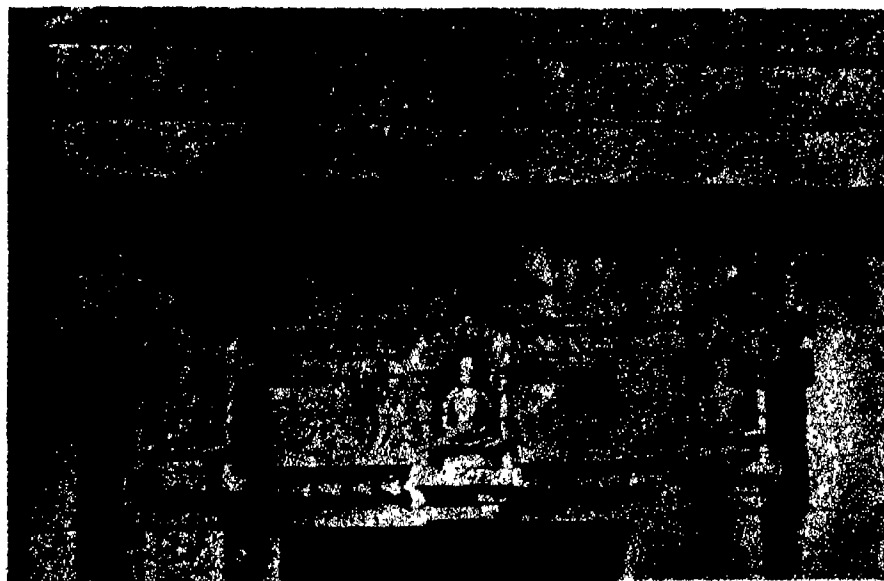
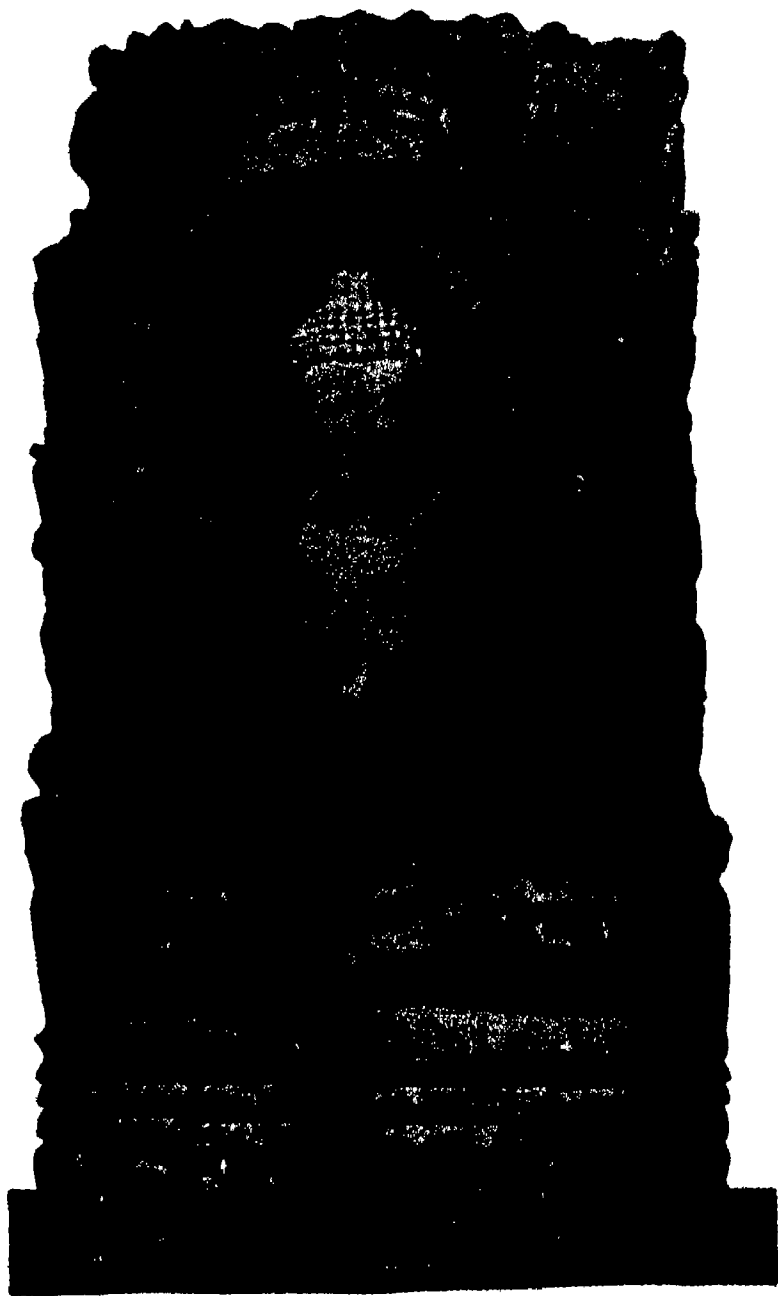
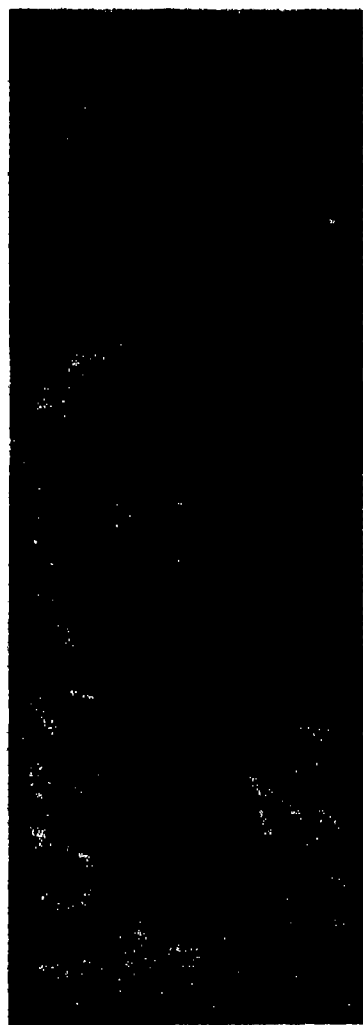
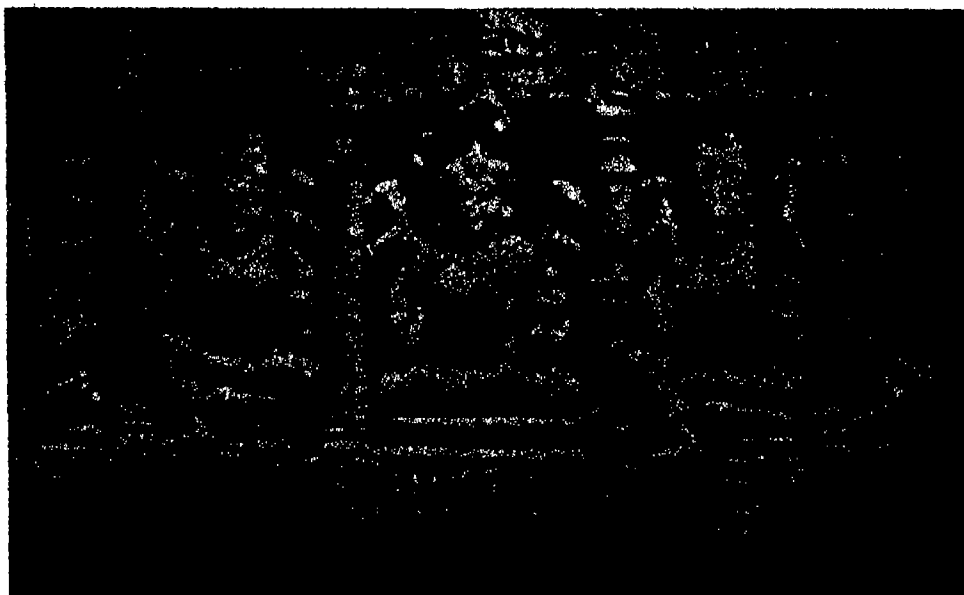
A. Pithaora : Pataini-dei temple

B. Pithaora : Pataini-dei temple, lintel

PLATE 95

Pithaora : Pataini-dei temple, *dvāra pālas*

A. Jabalpur : Tirthaṅkara Dharmanātha (Nagpur Museum)

B. Tewar : a Tirthaṅkara

PLATE 97

A. Tewar : inscribed group of Yakṣīs

B. Gandharwal : Tīrthaṅkaras

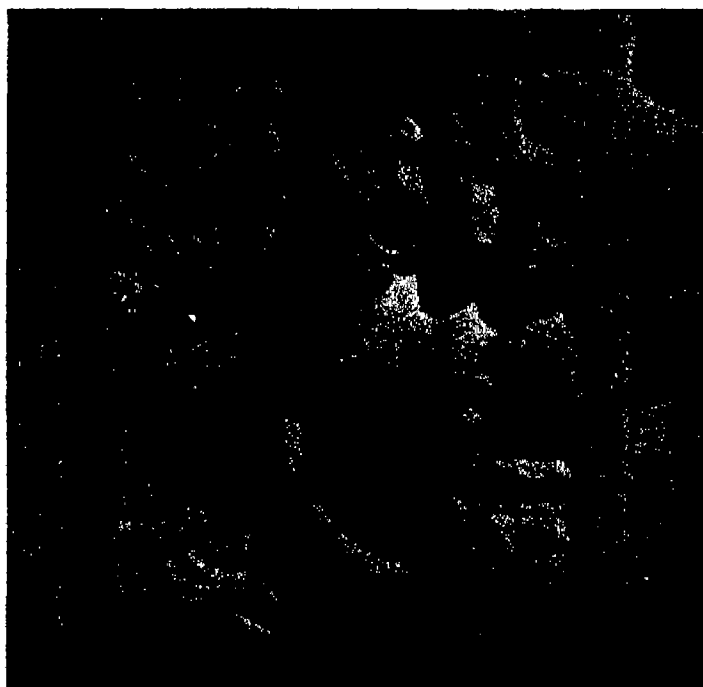



PLATE 98

Raipur Museum : *sahasra-kūṭa*

PLATE 99

A. Gyaraspur : Tīrthaṅkaras and Yakṣīs

B. Gyaraspur : Mālādevī temple, decorative motif

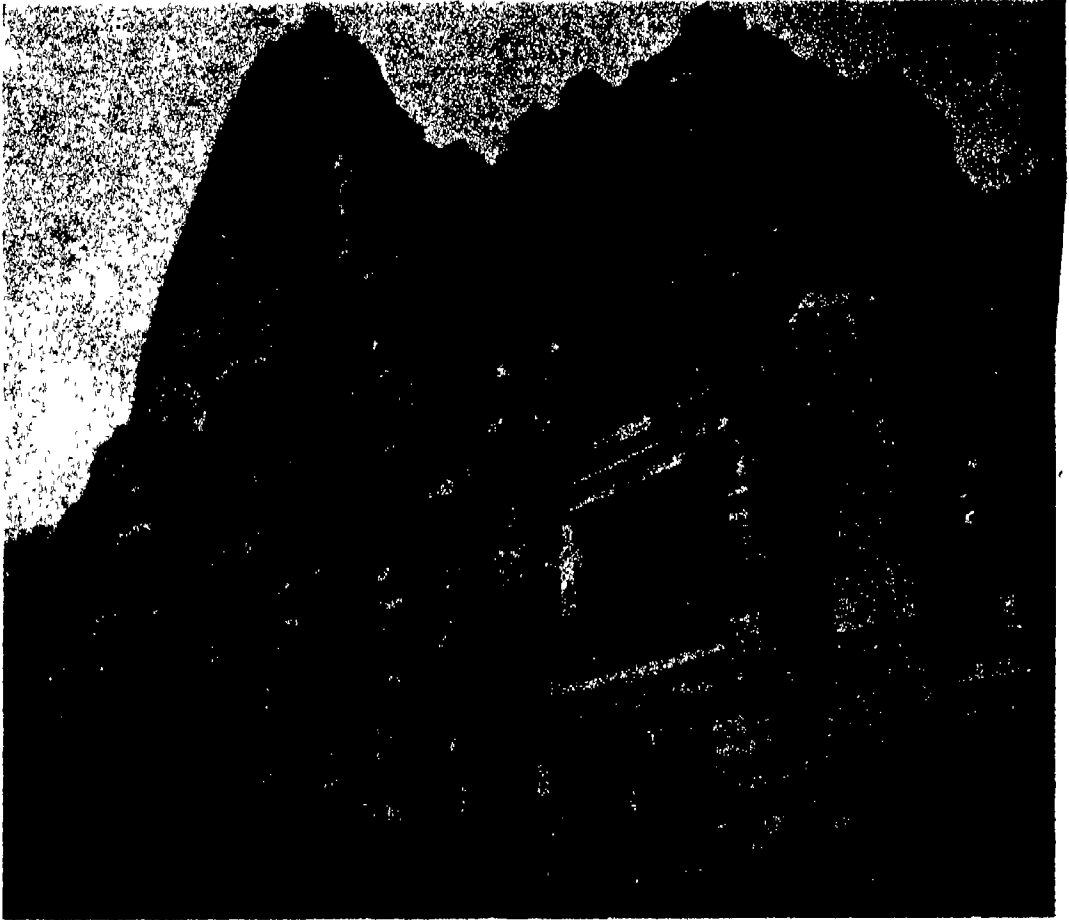
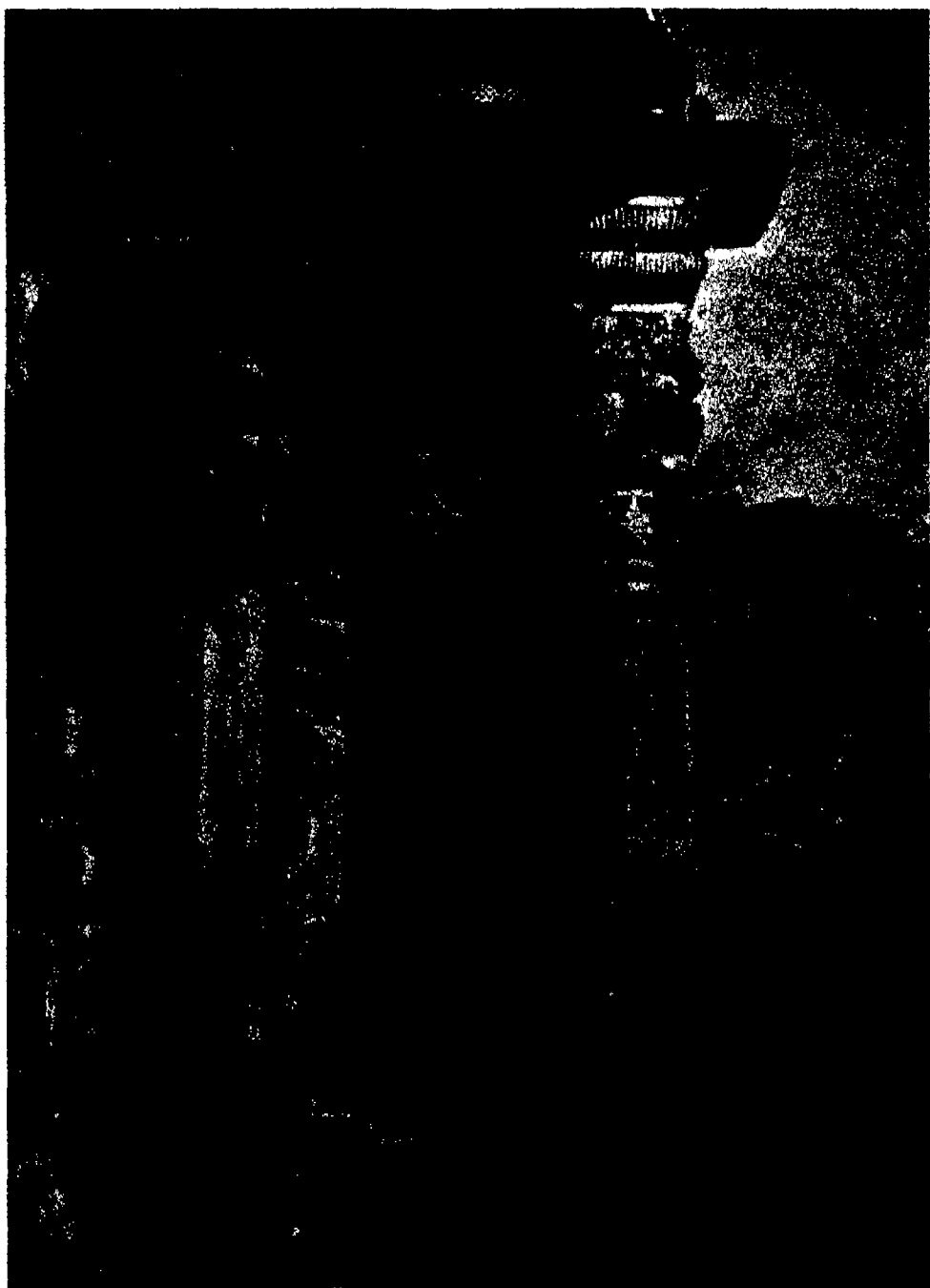



PLATE 100

Gyaraspur : Mālādevī temple

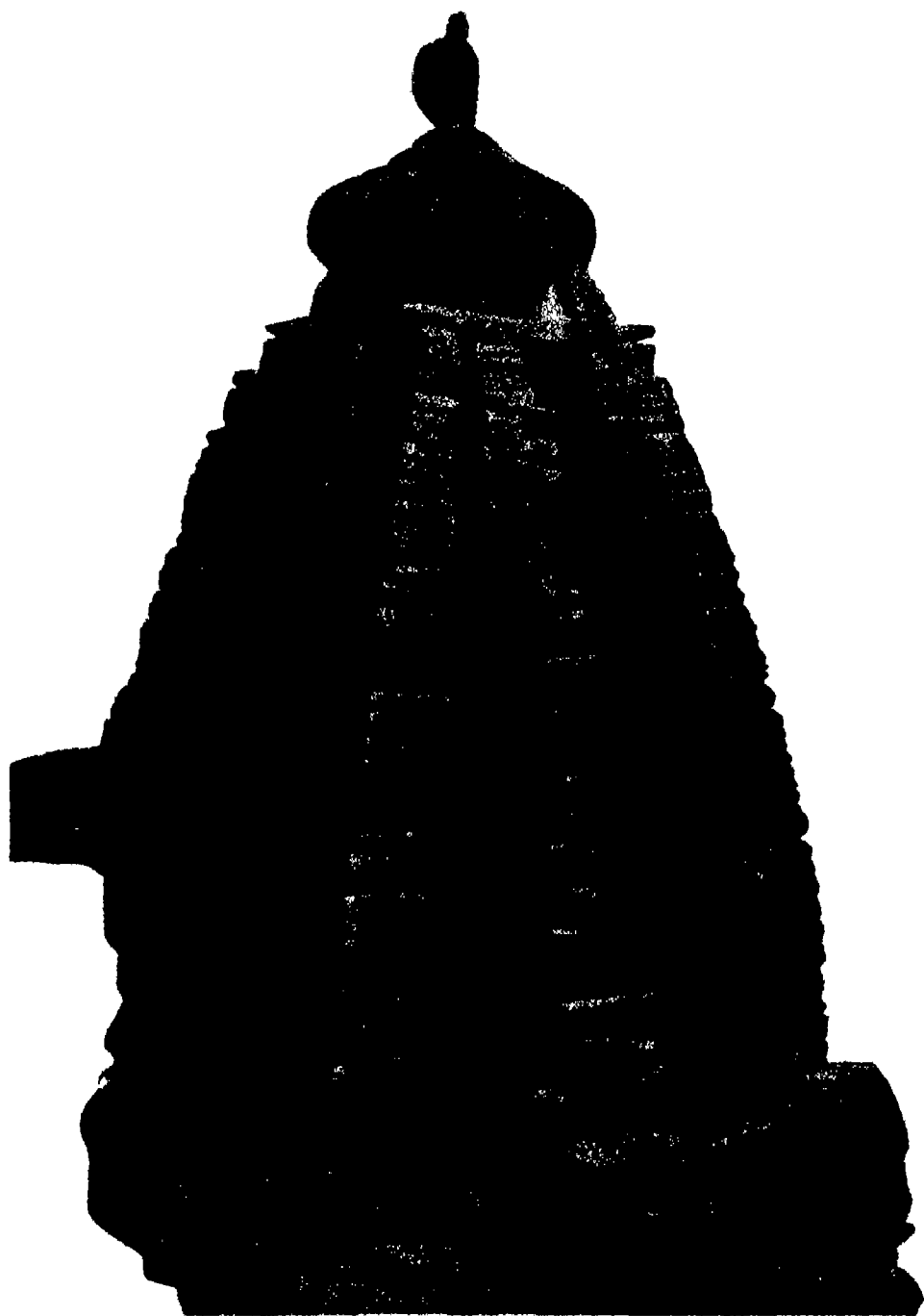
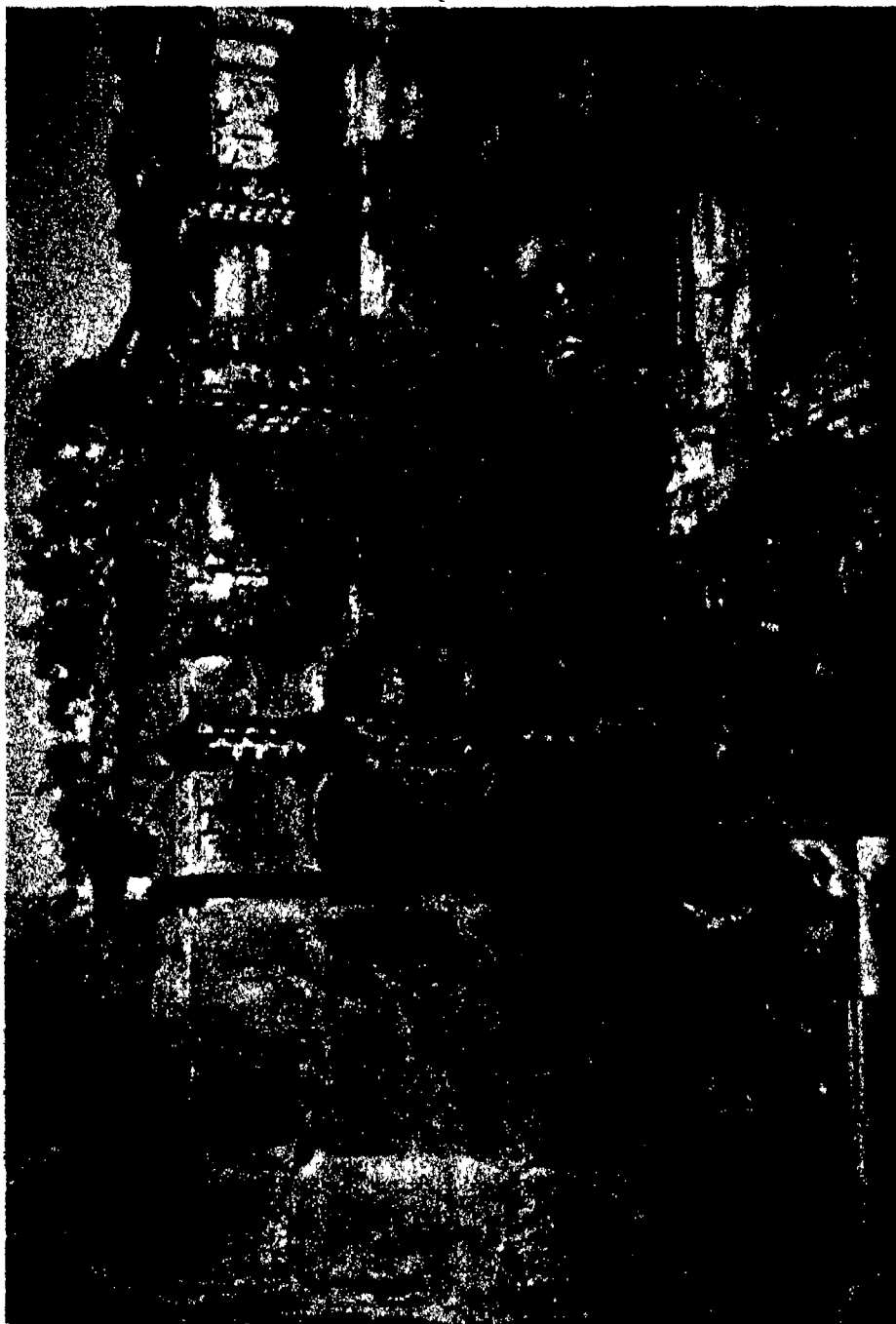
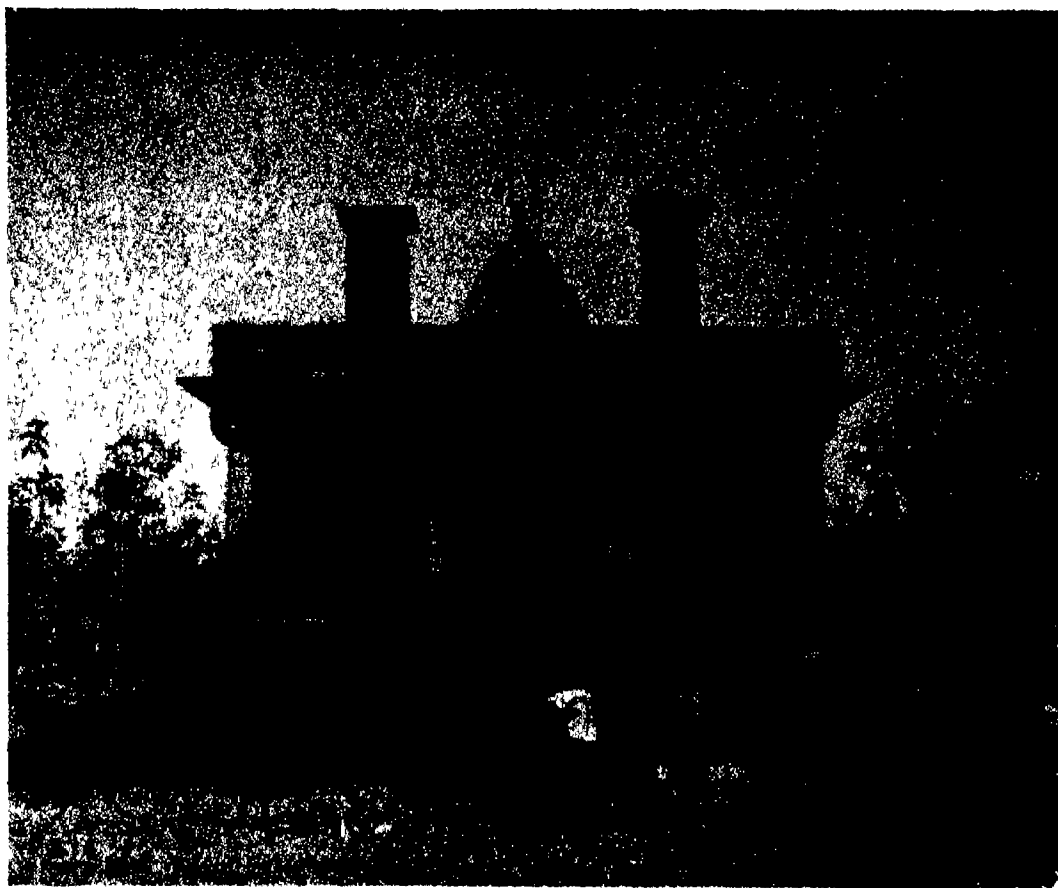
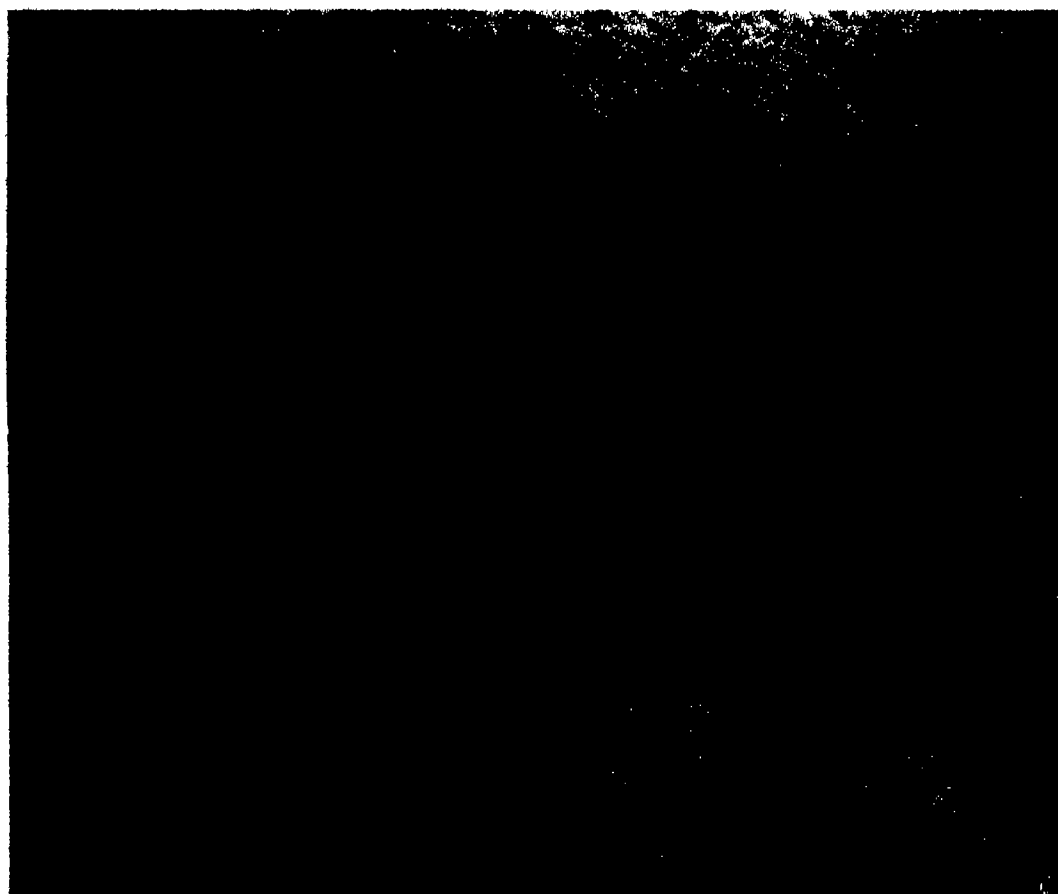
Gyaraspur : Mālādevī temple, *mukha-maṇḍapa*

PLATE 102

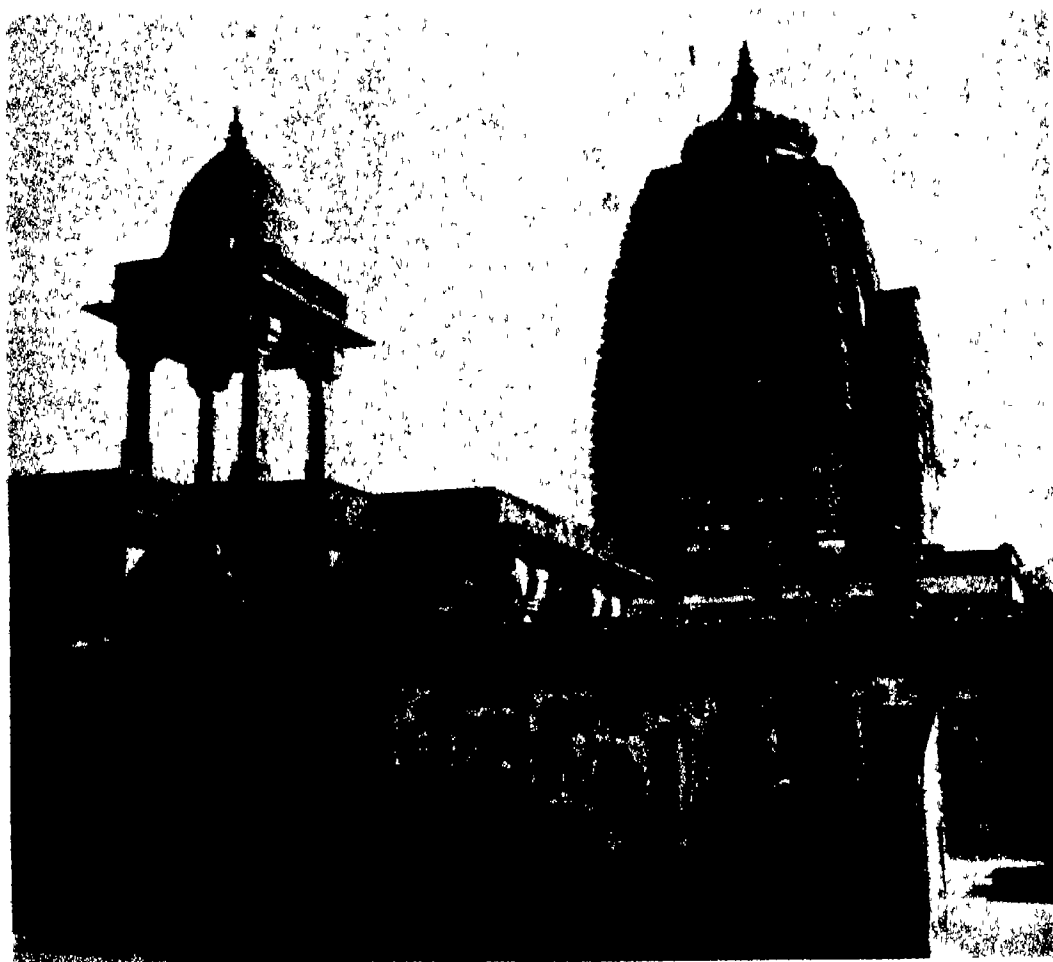
Gyaraspur : Mālādevī temple, *śikhara*

PLATE 103

Gyaraspur : Mālādevi temple, *jaṅghā*

PLATE 104

Deogarh : Temple 18

Deogarh : Temple 21, interior sculpture

Deogarh : Temple 12 (right) within compound-wall with sculptures

Deogarh : Temple 12, *śikhara* and a later *chatrī*

the inscription of the Vikrama year 919 (A.D. 862) on the portico pillar of Temple 12, these structures are referable to *circa* A.D. 850-900. Numerous architectural fragments and images fround at the site attest that more shrines of the ninth century existed at the site.

To the tenth century belong hall-temples made of large blocks, viz. Temples 9, 13, 16 and 20, which contain early medieval images. Hall-temple 17 also contains early medieval images of the tenth century, though its walls have disappeared.

To the tenth-eleventh centuries belong the four hall-temples, viz. Temples 2, 3, 11 and 19, the walls of which consist of slabs and which contain medieval images. The dates are supplied by the inscriptions of Temple 2 (Vikrama years 1023, 1051 and 1052) and Temple 11 (Vikrama years 1105 and 1129). These hall-temples are reminiscent of the monastic architecture, familiar from such central-Indian sites as Ranod, Kadwaha and Surwaya. Temples 5, with a peculiar *śikhara* and a large *sahasra-kūṭa* inside, bearing inscription of the Vikrama year 1120, also falls in the same period, besides Temple 31. Several pillars and architectural fragments, some of them clustering around Temple 12, are also attributable to the tenth-eleventh centuries.

To the twelfth century can be ascribed small temples built of smaller and thinner slabs. These are Temples 18 (plate 105), 21, 25, 26, 27(b) and 30. Temple 21 carries two inscriptions of the Guṇanandin group, referable to the twelfth century, and has a few images inside (plate 106).

The remaining temples, characterized by the use of brick-like smaller stones, generally employ mortar. Temples 4, 6, 8, 12(c) and 14 pertain to this phase which is assignable to a period later than the twelfth century. The block-temples 9, 13, 15-18 and 20 were repaired during this phase and porches to Temples 4 and 15 were added during the same time. Further, there is no doubt that the additions of cupolas, pseudo-*śikharas*, pavilions of the Akbar style and parapets were made to many of the shrines during the Bundela period.

Only two temples, viz. 10 and 15, both dating from the ninth century, show architectural embellishment. The remaining temples are largely plain except for their door-frames. Two temples, viz. Temples 12 and 28, carry curvilinear *śikharas*; others are mostly flat-roofed hall-temples, or shrines with porches which are reminiscent of the flat-roofed Gupta temples comprising only sanctum and porch.

Deogarh also abounds in sculptures and *māna-stambhas* and has a large number of inscriptions. The images in the temples or in the open area at this site number from one thousand to eleven hundred. Only one Jina image definitely belongs to the immediately post-Gupta period (*circa* seventh-eighth centuries), while about fifty images, including the original ones in Temples 12 and 15, are assignable to the ninth century. Nearly the same number pertains to the tenth century, while the remaining ones largely date from the eleventh-twelfth centuries.

Separated by a modern compound-wall bearing ancient sculptures (plate 107), Temple 12 is a *sāndhāra* structure comprising a sanctum with ambulatory and *antarāla*. The sanctum is *pañca-ratha* on plan and carries a *pañca-ratha* curvilinear *śikhara* of massive proportions (plate 108) with a conspicuous *śukanāsa*. Its outer decor is distinctive and shows on the *jaṅghā* latticed windows alternating with pilasters. The latticed windows are inset with shallow niches, surmounted by tall and thin *udgamas*. The niches contain relief-figures of twenty-four labelled Yakṣīs with the respective Jinas around the *jaṅghā*. The structure also shows doorway-designs on the three *bhadra*-projections of the *jaṅghā*. That this temple was dedicated to Jina Śāntinātha is attested by a number of inscriptions. The standing image of Jina Śāntinātha, over 5 m. high, occupies the entire height of the sanctum and has a large *parikara*, flanked by smiling figures of *cāmara*-bearers standing in elegant *tri-bhaṅga*. These figures, together with four independent images of Yakṣī Ambikā similarly standing in suave *tri-bhaṅga*, two placed inside and two just outside the sanctum, are sculptured in the high Pratīhāra style of the ninth century.

Temple 15 is a *tri-puruṣa-prāsāda* (triple-shrined structure) with the *śikhara* lost and now replaced by a flat roof with an incongruous Bundela cupola in the middle. It has a low *vedī-bandha* and a plain *jaṅghā* relieved by shallow sculptured niches surmounted by *udgamas*. The temple consists on plan of three tiny sancta sharing a common *nava-raṅga-maṇḍapa*, which is entered from a porch through a doorway. The flat ceiling of the *maṇḍapa* is supported on four central pillars and twelve pilasters. The pillars and pilasters carry typical Pratīhāra ornaments, viz. designs of *ghaṭa-pallava*, lotus-medallions, palmyra-brackets and ribbed *āmalakas*. Similarly, the doorway bears typical Pratīhāra ornaments which include the chain-and-bell design. The main image of this temple, a masterpiece of early medieval art, represents a seated figure of Jina, radiating spiritual bliss and effulgence and recalling in its sensitive modelling

and serene expression the famous Gupta image of Buddha from Sarnath. The other images in its niche-shrines on the *bhadras*, of both standing and seated varieties, are also typical of the ninth-century Pratīhāra art. Stylistically, this temple is about two decades later than Temple 12.

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CHAPTER 17

WEST INDIA

THE EARLIEST SPECIMENS OF JAINA ART IN WESTERN INDIA ARE KNOWN from the hoard[1] found at Akota in the outskirts of the city of Baroda, which has yielded sixty-eight Jaina bronzes datable from the late fifth to the eleventh century. They represent figures of Jinas including Ṛṣabhanātha, Pārśva-nātha and Ajitanātha, of Jīvantasvāmin, Sarasvatī, and Acchuptā and Yakṣas and Yakṣīs, including numerous images of Ambikā (plate 109). The Jina figures are depicted either standing or seated, flanked by Sarvānubhūti Yakṣa and Ambikā Yakṣī and a few of them show elaborate composition representing *tri-tīrthikā* (plate 110), *ṣaṭ-tīrthikā* and *aṣṭa-tri-tīrthikā* figures and a *caturviṁśati-paṭṭa* (plate 111). Thirty out of the sixty-eight bronzes are inscribed and two of them provide definite dates, Śaka year 691 and Vikrama year 1006. Not less than twenty-eight images are ascribable palaeographically and stylistically to a date anterior to A.D. 700, attesting brisk artistic activity during the sixth and seventh centuries. The bronzes representing Ṛṣabhanātha and Jīvantasvāmin,[2] referable to the close of the fifth century, and the figure of a *cāmara-dhāriṇī*[3] ascribable to the eighth century, are indeed masterpieces of west-Indian art.

The bronze Jina figures from Vala (Valabhī),[4] palaeographically assignable to the sixth century, are comparable with some of the coeval figures of the Akota hoard, though the former are a little cruder in workmanship and show heavy heads on relatively slim bodies. The treatment of the drapery on the Vala figures anticipates that on the fine bronze image of Jina, dated A.D. 687 from Vasantgarh, District Sirohi,[5] which also has yielded a small copper figure of standing Sarasvatī of *circa* 700 and three elaborate *tri-tīrthikā* bronzes of artistic execution, assignable to *circa* 750. The treatment of drapery on the two standing bronze Jina figures from Bhinmal,[6] ascribable to the eighth century,

[1] U.P. Shah, *Akoṭā Bronzes*, Bombay, 1959. [The earlier bronzes have been dealt with in Chapter 13 above.—Editor.]

[2] *Ibid.*, figs. 8-9. [See also Chapter 13.—Editor.]

[3] *Ibid.*, figs. 42-43.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 21, fig. 21. [See also Chapter 13.—Editor.]

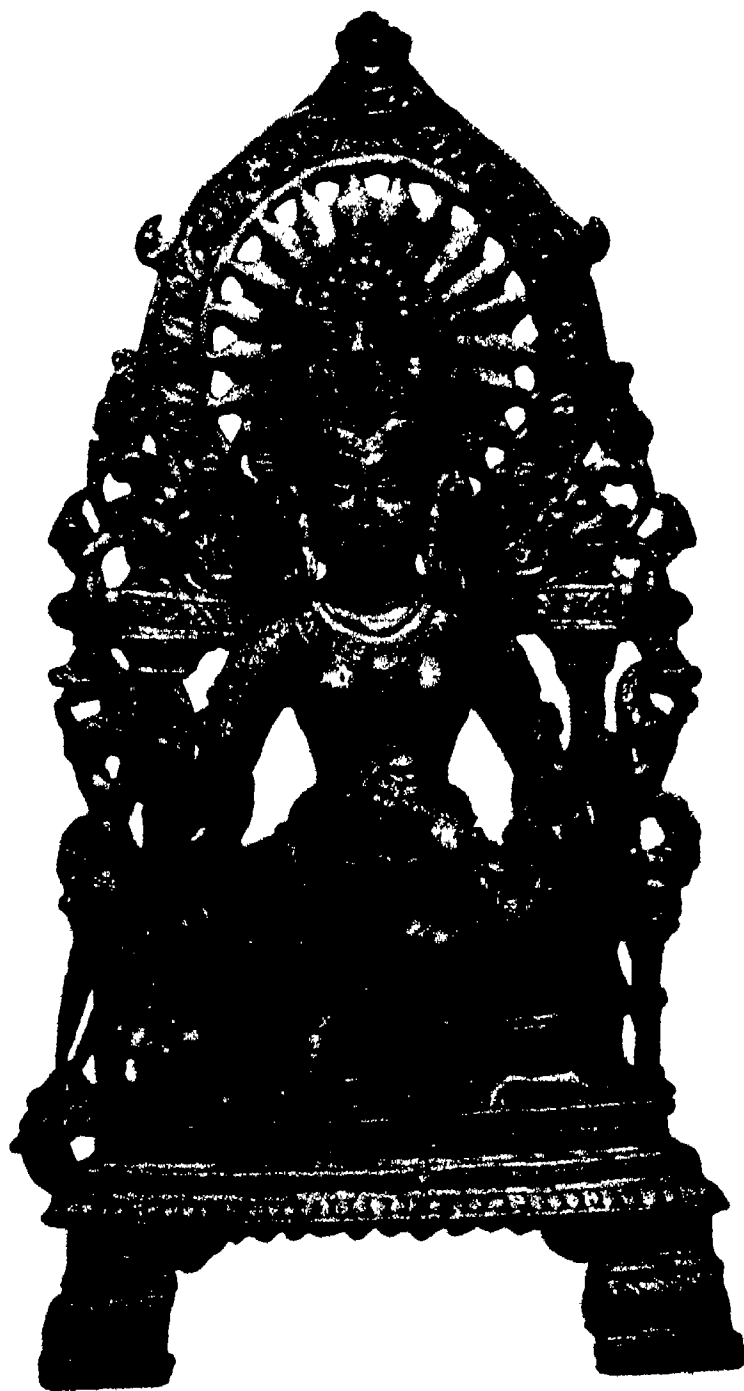
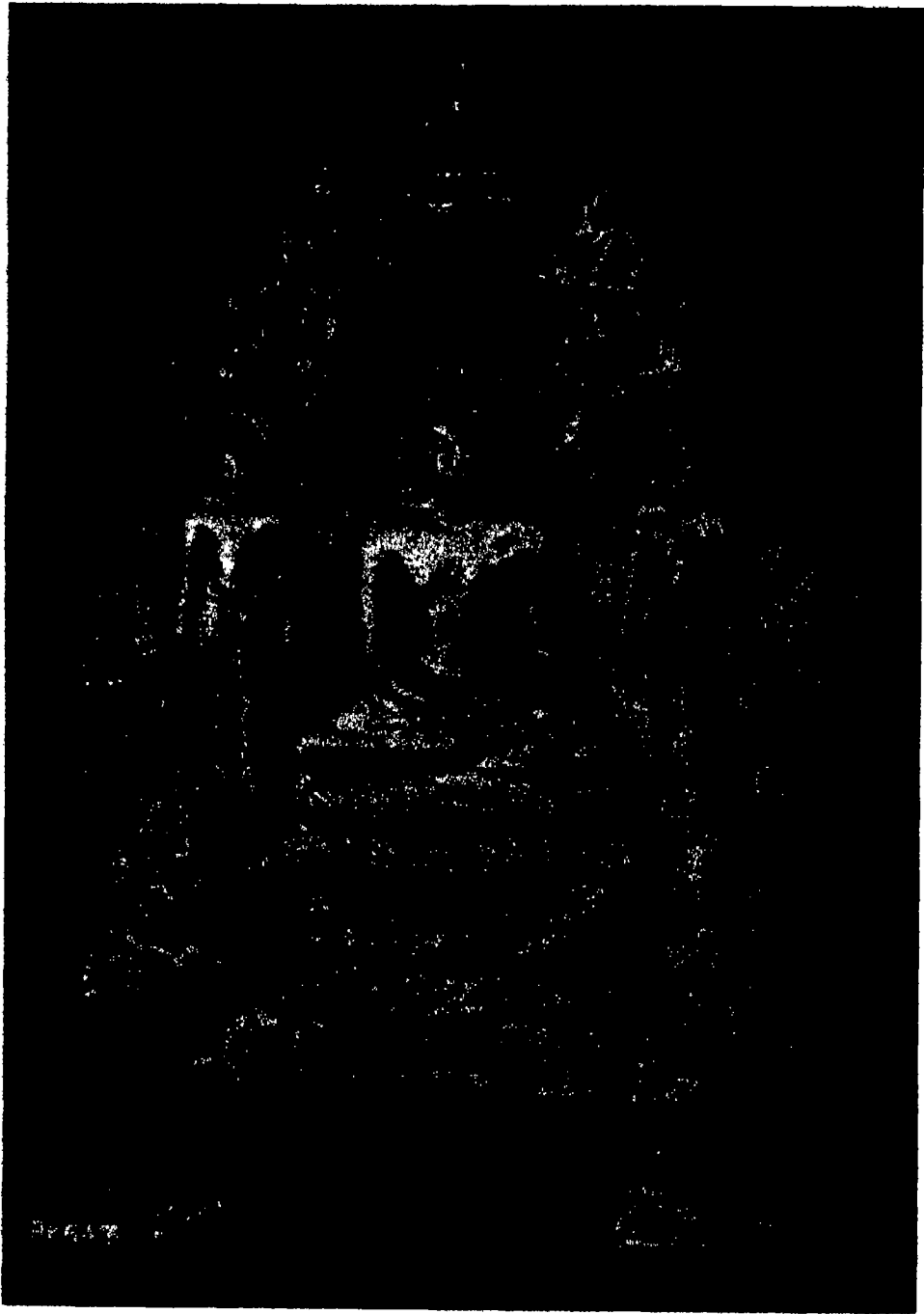
[5] *Ibid.*, p. 22, figs. 19, 49 and 72.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 22, 35a and 35b.

Akota : bronze Yakṣī Ambikā (Baroda Museum)

PLATE 109

Akota : bronze Tīrthaṅkara Pārśvānatha (Baroda Museum)

PLATE 110

Akota : bronze *caturviṁśati-paṭṭa* (Baroda Museum)

Akota : bronze *cāmara-dhāriṇī* (Baroda Museum)

PLATE 112

matches that of the Vasantgarh bronze Jina dated A.D. 687, though the former are somewhat clumsy, exhibiting inferior workmanship. A seated bronze figure of Ṛṣabhanātha[1] from the same site and referable to the same age, however, shows superior workmanship and is comparable to the dated Vasantgarh Jina image.

The stone sculptures from the eighth-century Mahāvīra temple at Osia generally share the modelling and the heavy physiognomy with the contemporary bronzes from Akota and Vasantgarh, referred to above, with some obvious divergence due to the difference of material. The stone sculpture[2] of the *cāmara-dhārī* attendants from the Mahāvīra temple at Nandia, District Sirohi, of seventh-eight century, reveals suppler modelling. The image of Pārśvanātha from Bhatewar, now in the Jaina temple at Chansma in Gujarat, is stylistically of the same age.

The elaborate bronze *caturviṁśati-paṭṭa* of Ṛṣabhanātha from Chahardi,[3] District Dhulia, provides a good example of the Rāṣṭrakūṭa art of the ninth century with marked Karnataka influence in the rendering of the eyes and the treatment of the attendant figures. This image is recorded to have been installed by a disciple of Pradyumnācārya of the Candra-*kula*. A contemporary bronze *tri-tīrthika* of Pārśvanātha flanked by a Yakṣa (Mātaṅga?) seated on elephant and Ambikā Yakṣī seated on lion, dedicated by another disciple of the same *ācārya* is now under worship in a Jaina shrine at Amarasagar near Jaisalmer. The Rāṣṭrakūṭa plastic art at its most florid, however, is encountered in the sculptures of the Jaina caves at Ellora.[4]

That Jaina temples existed at Akota, Valabhī, Vasantgarh and Bhinmal during the sixth-seventh centuries is inferred from the find of Jaina images at the sites. A seventh-century inscribed image of Pārśvanātha found in the Akota hoard refers to the dedication of the image in the *Ratha-vasatikā*, while an inscribed figure of Ṛṣabhanātha of *circa* 1000 from the same hoard records its dedication by Droṇācārya in the *Aṅkoṭṭaka-vasatikā*. Thus, *Ratha-vasatikā* and *Aṅkoṭṭaka-vasatikā* are names of Jaina shrines existing at Akota where images are recorded to have been installed also by Jinabhadra Vacanacārya, an eminent Jaina celebrity of *circa* sixth century.

[1] *Ibid.*, fig. 29a.
[2] Stella Kramrisch, *Art of India*, fig. 54.
[3] U.P. Shah, *op. cit.*, p. 24, fig. 7.
[4] [Dealt with in chapter 18.—Editor.]

Jaina literature alludes to the existence of many Jaina temples which are now lost. Vanarāja Cāpotkaṭa is said to have founded Vanarāja-*vihāra* in honour of Jina Pārśvanātha of Pañcasara at Patan Anhilvad where his minister Ninnaya, an ancestor of governor Vimala, built a temple dedicated to Jina Ṛṣabha in *circa* 746. Ninnaya also founded a Jaina temple at Candrāvatī. About the same time, a Ṛṣabha temple was erected at Tharad in north-west Gujarat at the instance of Vaṭeśvara-sūri. Jinasena wrote his *Harivaṁśa-purāṇa* in 783 in the Pārśvanātha temple (Nannarāja-*vasati*) at Vardhamāna (Wadhvan). The same work mentions the temples of Śāntinātha at Dostatikā and of Ambikā on the Girnar hill. During the eighth century there were both Digambara and Śvetāmbara temples of Jina Candraprabha at Prabhas. The Digambara church founded a Pārśvanātha temple at Una and another Jina temple at Khambhat.

Yakṣadatta-gaṇi, a predecessor of Udyotana-sūri is said to have erected a number of shrines in western India, including Bhinmal. Udyotana-sūri completed his *Kuvalaya-mālā* in the *Aṣṭāpada-prāsāda* of Ādinātha at Jalor in 779. Jaina temples flourished at Chitor in the time of Haribhadra-sūri (eighth century). According to Jayasiṁha-sūri (A.D. 859) Jaina temples existed at Nagaur.

During the early medieval periods, the princes of western India belonging to the various dynasties mutually vied in extending patronage to the Jaina faith and in building or endowing Jaina shrines. Pratīhāra Nāgabhaṭa I (*circa* 730-56) founded Yakṣa-*vasati* at Jalor in honour of his *guru* Yakṣadatta-gaṇi. The celebrated Mahāvīra temple of Sachor and that of Korta are also traditionally ascribed to the same teacher. The Mahāvīra temple at Osia, described in chapter 14, was founded by Pratīhāra Vatsarāja (*circa* 772-93). His successor Nāgabhaṭa II (793-833) revered his teacher Bappabhaṭṭi-sūri and founded Jaina temples at Kanauj and Gopagiri. The latter's disciples, Nanna-sūri and Govinda-sūri, were favourably received by the Pratīhāra emperor Mihirabhoja (*circa* 836-85). Pratīhāra Kakkukarāja of Mandor founded a Jina temple at Ghatiyala in 861. Guhila Bhartṛbhaṭa I of Mewar created Guhila-*vihara* at the town of Bhatewar, founded by him in *circa* 930. Of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas of Hathundi, Vidagdharāja built a Ṛṣabha temple of Hathundi in 917, and his son and grandson, Mammaṭa and Dhavala, gave grants for the upkeep and restoration of the temple.

A prince Raghusena founded a Jina-*bhavana* at Ramsen in north-west Gujarat during early tenth century. But more important were the foundations

of the imperial Caulukyas of Gujarat. Mūlarāja I (942-95) built Mūla-*vasatika* for the Digambara church and a temple of Mūlanātha-Jinadeva for the Śvetāmbara sect at Anhilvad Patan. Cāmuṇḍarāja, as his heir-apparent, gave a grant to the Jaina temple at Vadasama in 977. The foundations of the succeeding Caulukya rulers will be noticed in a subsequent chapter.

KRISHNA DEVA

CHAPTER 18

THE DECCAN

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

THE HALF MILLENNIUM BETWEEN THE MIDDLE OF THE SIXTH AND ELEVENTH centuries was the most eventful in the history of India south of the Vindhyas, because it marks a great era of the beginning and development to its meridian of temple-architecture and related sculpture, painting and allied arts. The area came under the hegemony of three rising empires—the Cāḷukyas with their capital at Vātāpi (Badami), in the Deccan, the Pallavas with their capital at Kāñcī on the eastern littoral and the Pāṇḍyas with their capital at Madurai in the far south, who were all rivals alike in war and polity as in the patronage of arts like architecture, sculpture, painting, music, dance and literature. While the Cāḷukyas under Pulakeśin (609-42) could successfully hold Harṣavardhana's southward expansion and contain him beyond the northern confines of the Vindhyas, Pallava Narasiṁhavarman I Māmalla (630-68) defeated Pulakeśin and occupied Vātāpi for twelve years; the Pāṇḍyas of the far south were all the time holding up the southern expansion of the Pallavas on the Kāverī, while they themselves expanded into adjoining Ceylon. The lesser kingdoms of the Eastern Cāḷukyas, the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, the Gaṅgas, the Muttaraiyārs, the Noḷambas, and the Irukkuveḷs were wedged in between the major states acting as buffers or political allies. These had their own share of contributions to the artistic and literary traditions and achievements of the times. While the Pallavas and the Pāṇḍyas continued unabated in power till the middle of the ninth century in their respective regions, the Cāḷukyas of Vātāpi parted with their territories on the Āndhra coast to the collateral line of the Eastern or Veṅgi Cāḷukyas founded by Kubja Viṣṇuvardhana (624-41) in the last days of his brother Pulakeśin II, and thereafter the main branch at Vātāpi was replaced by the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, with their capital at Mānyakheṭa (Malkhed) by the middle of the eighth century. Both the Pallavas and Pāṇḍyas of the far south were ultimately replaced by the imperial Coḷas of Thanjavur in the middle of the ninth century. By 1000 the two major empires contending for the hegemony of south India and its art and architectural

creations came to be the Rāṣṭrakūṭa and the Coḷa, with the Veṅgi Cāḷukya continuing in a comparatively subordinate position.

This also marks the period when the ascendancy of Jainism was challenged, with considerable success, by the rising *bhakti* cults of the Śaiva Nāyanmārs and the Vaiṣṇava Āḷvārs—canonized saints and poet-musicians of Tamilnadu and its outlying areas. In the Kannada and Telugu countries, however, it had a firmer hold contending with the dying embers of Buddhism in those areas. Many of the kings of the ruling dynasties professed Jainism or even made it the state religion, while many others patronized it or were tolerant of its existence and activities. The producer-*cum*-craft and merchant-guilds or *samājas* of cosmopolitan membership were, likewise, patrons of temples and religious institutions of all sects and their munificent offer exceeded, or even replaced, royal patronage whenever it was lacking. The main centre of Jainism was Sravanabelgola (the Bappāram and Aruṅ-kuḷam of the Tamil Jainas), which, starting from its traditional association with Bhadrabāhu, the last *śrutakevalin* dating earlier than the Christian era, became the centre of the great Kunda-kundācārya and his lineage Kunda-kundānvaya in the beginning of the Christian era. Later, Arhadbali divided the *mūla-saṅgha* into four *saṅghas*, Nandi, Sena, Deva and Siṁha, each subdivided into *gaṇas* and further into *gacchas*. The period also witnessed the formation of the Drāviḍa-*saṅgha* by Vajranandin with branches all over Tamilnadu and affiliated to the *mūla-saṅgha* of Sravanabelgola.

The main establishments of the Jaina teachers centred round the hills which invariably (as in the Tamil country) had natural caverns or shelters, often difficult of access, with an adjoining tarn or perennial spring (chapter 9). Many of them continued to be in use till the twelfth century. Parts of the caverns were often modified into shrines by construction in brick, often with distinct architectural components, and plastered overand painted. Such constructions, dating from the seventh-eighth centuries, have come to our notice in recent times, as ruins at Tirakkol and Armamalai, both in North Arcot District, the latter with remnants of paintings akin to and reminiscent of Sittannavasal on the one side and the Jaina paintings of Ellora on the other. Vallimalai, in Chingleput District, the cavern-temple in the Chandragiri hill at Sravanabelgola and many such in other Districts can be enumerated. The one at Tirumalai, North Arcot, is perhaps the largest, with structural elements incorporated in its make-up of Rāṣṭrakūṭa and Coḷa styles as also sculptures in both the styles and paintings. The natural caverns at Vallimalai, one with a Jaina Tīrthaṅkara

relief on the ceiling now converted into a Subrahmaṇya temple and the other with Jvālamālinī Yakṣī, are other notable examples.

The last quarter of the sixth century was eventful in that it marked a new era when the concept of rock and stone as the main fabric in the make-up of the religious edifices of the non-Buddhist sects—Brāhmaṇical and Jaina—set up a new milieu. This was initiated under royal patronage. In 578, Cāḷukya Maṅgaleśa excavated the first cave-temple for Viṣṇu at Badami in the local soft sandstone rocks.

CAVE-TEMPLES

The cave-temples of the Cāḷukyaṇ vintage consist essentially of a rectangular pillared verandah or *mukha-maṇḍapa*, a more or less square pillared hall or *mahā-maṇḍapa* and an almost square shrine-cell or *garbha-gṛha*, all in an axial plane, excavated into the prepared vertical rock-face and constituting the *maṇḍapa*-type of temples. The last and topmost of the series of four such cave-temples excavated on the northern scarp of the Badami cliff is the solitary Jaina example, which is chronologically also the last, excavated in the middle of the seventh century (plate 113A). While essentially of the same plan as the other three Brāhmaṇical ones on the cliff, it is the smallest and the most lavishly-embellished. The cut-back to the pillared façade provides a small platform below in front and the *kapota* or cornice above on the top of a rough exterior and finished and curved undersurface, with ribbings with a relief of Kubera at its centre. The façade of the *mukha-maṇḍapa* has four pillars and two pilasters, one at either extreme, the central pair of pillars with greater intercolumniation as is characteristic of the Cāḷukyan style and its derivatives. As against the other caves, the basal squares of the rather massively-shaped pillars have circular relief medallions variously carved as lotuses, *mithuna*-couples, foliage-scrolls, *makara*-scolls and the like. The pillars have well-formed capitals with the *kalaśa*, *taḍi* and *kumbha* and, in this respect, resemble the Pallava forms. The *kalaśas* are ornate with carvings of *mithunas* on the facets. and from their outer faces spring rampant *vyāla*-caryatids butting against the ribbing of the cornice. The *potikās* or corbels are of the double or superposed type, as in the Cāḷukyan forms, while the lower face is an extended double-volute. A second set of four pillars and two pilasters separate the outer and the inner *maṇḍapas*, and the ceiling of the front *maṇḍapa* is divided into five bays by cross-rafters. The central bay of the ceiling of the outer *maṇḍapa* has a large Vidyādhara couple in relief. The entrance-openings into the inner *maṇḍapa* are reduced to three, the two extremes between the outer pillars and

pilaster on each side being closed by a screen-wall. The ceiling of three bays rendered so by cross-beams has another Vidyādhara couple in its central bay. Three rock-cut steps and a *candra-śilā* or moon-stone lead up to the shrine-entrance cut through the centre of the hind wall of the inner *maṇḍapa* (plate 113B).

The entrance is framed by an ornate over-door of five variegated *śākhās* for its jambs as is characteristic of the Cāḷukyan order, while over the flexed *kapota*-architrave with *kūḍu*-ornaments is an *uttarāṅga* series of miniature shrine-models—*śālās* and two-storeyed pavilions or *aṭṭālakas*, with Tīrthaṅkara-reliefs on the *śālā*-faces. The centre piece is a pattern of a *kūḍu*-arch mounted by a semi-arch in *udgama*-fashion, with three seated Tīrthaṅkara images inside the upper loops and two *cāmara-dhārins*, one on either side. At the base of the jambs of over-door frame are the *dvāra-pāla* panels. The shrine-cell has a Mahāvira seated on a *siṁhāsana*, occupying more than the rear half of the cell. Carved in the scooped-in end-walls of the two *maṇḍapas* are reliefs of Gommaṭeśvara (plate 114A) and of Tirthaṅkaras such as Pārśvanātha (plate 115) and Ādinātha (plate 114B) surrounded by a *prabhāvalī* containing reliefs of twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras—four small and seated on top, eighteen distributed equally on either side, also small, and two, one at each base of the *stambha-toraṇa* of the *prabhāvalī*, larger and standing. The Yakṣa and Yakṣī, forming the *śāsāna-devatās*, also find a place on either side of the main figure. Later sculptures, carved by the counter-sunk or scooped-in method, mostly of standing Tīrthaṅkaras, have been carved on the sides of the pillars and pilasters, and, in some cases, the entire area of the capital-facets are studded cameo-like with rows of miniature Tīrthaṅkaras with a slightly larger central Mahāvīra. These embellishments appear to be mostly secondary,though perhaps closely following the completion of the cave-temple.

The Menābasti Jaina cave-temple (plate 116A) on the south-east face of the Meguti hill at Aihole, the mercantile metropolis and main centre of the trade-guild 'the blameless 500', is slightly different on plan, belonging to the close of the seventh or the beginning of the eighth century. Like the Brāhmaṇical cave Ravulaguḍi at the same place, it has a narrow verandah behind the plain square-pillared façade with the bays, except the central one, walled up later by square ashlar blocks. The left-end wall of the verandah has a relief of Pārśvanātha with his *śāsana*-deities—Dharaṇendra and Padmāvatī—and a host of other attendants. The inner *maṇḍapa* is more a squarish hall with two side-shrines cut into its lateral walls, the one on the left dedicated to Mahāvīra with his attendants, rather incomplete. The inner entrance to the shrine

behind has three openings formed by two pillars, and there are two *dvāra-pālas* with high headgear, similar to those of the Elephanta prototypes, each attended by a male and female dwarf. The shrine has a seated Mahāvīra similar to the one in the Badami cave-temple.

Just below the brow of the same hill at Aihole, and close under the Meguti temple, is a two-storeyed cave-temple, partly structural and partly excavated (plate 116B), or rather a natural cavern so fashioned. It consists of two superposed structural verandahs, each with its façade of four pillars, and two pilasters of square sections and plain curved corbels. In relief, on the centre of the upper verandah-ceiling, is a small seated and clothed Jina with a triple umbrella over his head, while at one end of the same verandah is a long room with three partially rock-cut shrines; off the lower is another incipient shrine. The door-frame, leading to the cella behind, of the lower storey is a florid over-door of the multi-*śākhā* pattern of the same type almost as in the Menābasti and profusely carved with animal, human and floral designs, and southern-type miniature shrine-models over the door-frame *uttarāṅga*. The Kannada inscriptions on the pillars and rock outside, mostly names of persons, and the architectural patterns would indicate a seventh-century date for this cave-temple.

The minor Jaina rock-cut temple on the western slope of the Meguti hill consists mainly of a sanctum and front *maṇḍapa*, cut into the hill-side with a shrine-doorway of the *tri-śākha* type, leading in from the plain front *maṇḍapa* into the shrine-chamber. The lion-emblem on the front face of the image-pedestal and other details would indicate that the enshrined deity, now lost, was a seated Mahāvīra fixed into a socket. This temple, like the two-storeyed one, would belong to the seventh century.

With the advent of the Rāṣṭrakūṭas to power, the activity shifted to Elāpura or Ellora, where, at the end of the Buddhist and Brāhmaṇical excavations, there is a small series of Jaina rock-cut caves and a specimen of monolithic cut-out *vimāna*, the Choṭā-Kailāsa, on the model of the greater and earlier Brāhmaṇical Kailāsa and the still smaller one in the Indra-sabhā court. These form 30 to 34 of the Ellora caves occupying the northern horn of the Ellora ridge and about 1200 m. to the north of the large Brāhmaṇical excavation called Dumarlena. They are found in various stages of completion, indicating, by their plans, styles and inscriptions, their commencement in the close of the eighth or the beginning of the ninth century and the continuation of the work later.

The so-called Indra-sabha (Cave 32) and the Jagannātha-sabhā (Cave 33) are the most noteworthy and elaborate excavations in the Jaina series. The Indra-sabhā (plate 117), the earliest of the group, is a double-storeyed south-facing excavation and is the largest and the most important piece of rock-architecture forming a group rather than a single cave-temple. In front of the main two-storeyed cave is a courtyard containing a monolithic *vimāna* with an elephant to its east in front and a *māna-stambha* of the *kumbha-maṇḍi-kalaśa* type on the west carrying Brahma-Yakṣa figures facing the four cardinals on its top-abacus. The courtyard is entered through a front screen-wall with a stunted *gopura*-entrance. The lateral walls of the entrenched open court have two smaller excavations of the type of a pillared *maṇḍapa* on one side and an unfinished gallery on the other. They contain sculptures of Pārśvanātha (plate 118A), Gommaṭa (plate 118B), Kubera, Ambikā, Sumatinātha and other Tīrthaṅkaras, Yakṣas, etc. The three sides of the quadrangle are elaborately carved to produce a two-storey effect as on the façade. The lower-storey of the main excavation is unfinished and has a peculiar plan. It has a front verandah with four pillars and four pilasters of the square type, one of which has a nude Tīrthaṅkara carved with an inscription on it. Beyond is a two-pillared *aṅgaṇa* (plate 119) similar to the front verandah leading through a vestibule to the shrine-cell at the rear. The shrine is well-finished and contains a huge seated Tīrthaṅkara. There are two more Tīrthaṅkaras, one of them Śāntinātha, at the west end of the verandah. Beyond these images is a shrine with carvings of the usual images. At the eastern or right end of the verandah is the stairway leading up to the upper storey.

The upper storey essentially consists of a central main hall, with two additional sanctuaries thrown forward on each wing, with the balconies of all the three over-looking the open entrenched court. The front verandah has two composite pillars of the *kumbhavallī-cum*-recessed-*kalaśa*-capital type. On the inside of its eastern wing are five small standing Jinas with Kubera and Ambikā at either end. Larger and better-finished figures of Kubera and Ambikā, are however, to be seen at either end of the verandah. The hall proper has twelve pillars of four different types, and on its lateral walls are excavated five compartments each, the central one larger than the flanking four and containing a seated Jina Sumatinātha, as could be judged by the discus *lāñchana* on its pedestal. The other four on each face enshrine similar Jina forms. The principal shrine cut into the rear wall of the *maṇḍapa* is dedicated to Mahāvīra. The entrance to the shrine has a shallow portico with a pair of finely-carved, slender, fluted and *kalaśa*-topped pillars carrying an architrave, with *kapota*, surmounted by a row of five miniature shrine-models over the *uttarāṅga*. The wall-space on

either side of the door-opening has each a large standing Tīrthaṅkara, *dvāra-pāla*-like while further beyond on the east face of the wall is a large panel of Pārśvanātha and another with pair of Sumatināthas whereas correspondingly, on the western extension is a panel of Gommaṭa, and a pair of Sumatinathas. The ceiling and beams of the *maṇḍapa* are painted, that of the verandah showing two layers of such paintings.

Through the south-east corner of the *maṇḍapa* is reached a cave-temple cut into the rock to the south on the east wall of the courtyard, with it principal shrine dedicated to Sumatinātha. The *maṇḍapa* in front has four *kalaśa*-topped pillars and a lotus carved at the centre of its ceiling. The walls, ceilings and the shrine-interior are covered with exquisite paintings, fairly well-preserved Besides the flying Gandharvas or Vidyādhara couples, the most interesting painting is that of an eight-armed deity on the ceiling of the *antarāla* in the *catura*-mode of dance. The absence of marks or attributes of Śiva in the painting would distinguish it as obviously one of a deity of the Jaina pantheon, perhaps Indra.

The south-west corner of the main hall leads into a similar cave-temple dedicated to Sumatinātha; this also is replete with paintings of exquisite quality but poorly preserved. The most striking feature of this excavation is the elaborately-carved *kapota*-entablatures of the façade one separating, as it were the lower from the upper storey, and the other topping the upper storey, the lower with a lion- and elephant-series in the frieze and the upper with a chain of miniature shrine-fronts enclosing Tīrthaṅkara forms. The monolithic *vimāna* in a court will be considered in the sequel.

The Jagannātha-sabhā (Cave 33) (plate 120A) is essentially similar to the Indra-sabhā but lacks the regularity of plan. The ground floor is a complex of three unsymmetrically-disposed sanctuaries, each a complete unit made up of *agra* and *maha-maṇḍapa* and real shrine-opening into the entrenched courtyard which has crumbled away, leaving little of the traces of the central *maṇḍapa* and front screen or *prākāra*-wall with the entrance facing south. This floor has the usual front verandah with four pillars and with Kubera(?) (plate 121) and Ambikā on lion (plate 122), one at either end. The hall behind is square, with a large niche on each of its lateral walls. These niches and the flanking wall-spaces contain reliefs of Gommaṭa, Pārśvanātha, and of other Tīrthaṅkara (plate 123). The shrine at the rear, dedicated to Sumatinātha, has a shallow portico or vestibule. The pillars of this floor are of two types—the *kalaśa*-topped and the *kumbhavalli-cum-kalaśa*-topped types (plate 125). Their intricate carvings

and other features point to the relative lateness of this cave. The other two sanctuaries of the floor, opening into the court, more or less follow a similar plan and decoration.

Access to the upper floor is provided through a passage cut through the south-east corner of the upper shrine on the lateral wall of the adjoining Indra sabhā complex. The upper floor, more intact and finished, has *nava-raṅga* hall with twelve massive pillars—central four and peripheral eight as in the Indra-sabhā—some with square bases and *kalaśa*-capitals, but all of them very ornate. The shrine at the rear has an ornament entrance, flanked by a Jina with Kubera and Ambikā, beyond the Jina on either side. The lateral walls contain reliefs of other Tīrthaṅkaras, and there are also remnants of ancient paintings on the ceiling of the hall. It would appear that the centre of the *maṇḍapa*-ceiling had a circular panel of painting depicting the *samavasaraṇa*, of which only a fragment now remains.

From the east corner of the *maṇḍapa* and disposed at an angle is a smaller unit, similar in proportions and character to those of the ground floor but quite complete and richly carved.

The rock-cut cave-shrine on the south wall of the court is the Choṭā-Kailāsa (Cave 30), consisting of a shrine, *antarāla* and front *maṇḍapa*, dedicated to Sumatinātha. The *antarāla* has sculptures of Pārśvanātha, Kubera and Ambikā, and the walls of the *maṇḍapa* are replete with other sculptures. Another entrenched cave (Cave 30A) quite near this consists only of a long hall and a porch with pillars of the *kumbha-vallī-cum-kalaśa*-top type. The centre of the hall has a Jaina *chaumukha* stele. The cornices have flying Gandharvas and the porch has *kakṣāsanas* on either side.

Recent clearance has revealed a few unfinished cells to the east of this group. They contain small bas-reliefs of little interest—one of them depicting a standing Tīrthaṅkara with a *tiruvāci* (aureole) framing him and containing representations of the twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras.

The Jaina excavations on the soft trap-ridge of Ellora may be said to have been completed by the tenth century, though some of the embellishments could be of a slightly later date. With all their contents, they excel the rest of the caves at Ellora particularly in the perfection of their architectural members. Since beauties of ornamentation, drapery, graces, poses and stances could be introduced only in the sculptures of the attendant deities, their depiction were exploited with skill. The Tīrthaṅkara forms, which are to be in the prescribed

and conventionalized poses and styles, could not all be so well-executed. They Jaina monuments were on the whole, excel in their richly-carved details, perfected finish, particularly in the variety of pillars, and indicate a greater precision and accuracy in the cutting, though the plan, in spite of the beauty of embellishment, lacks pre-determination and appears haphazard or improvised in nature. Yet, with their extant paintings of a classical nature they form an important group in the artistic heritage of India.

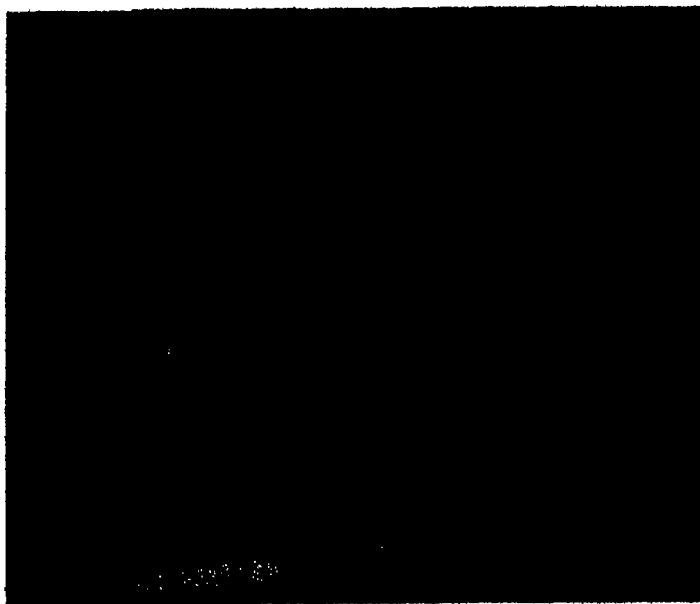
ROCK-CUT TEMPLES

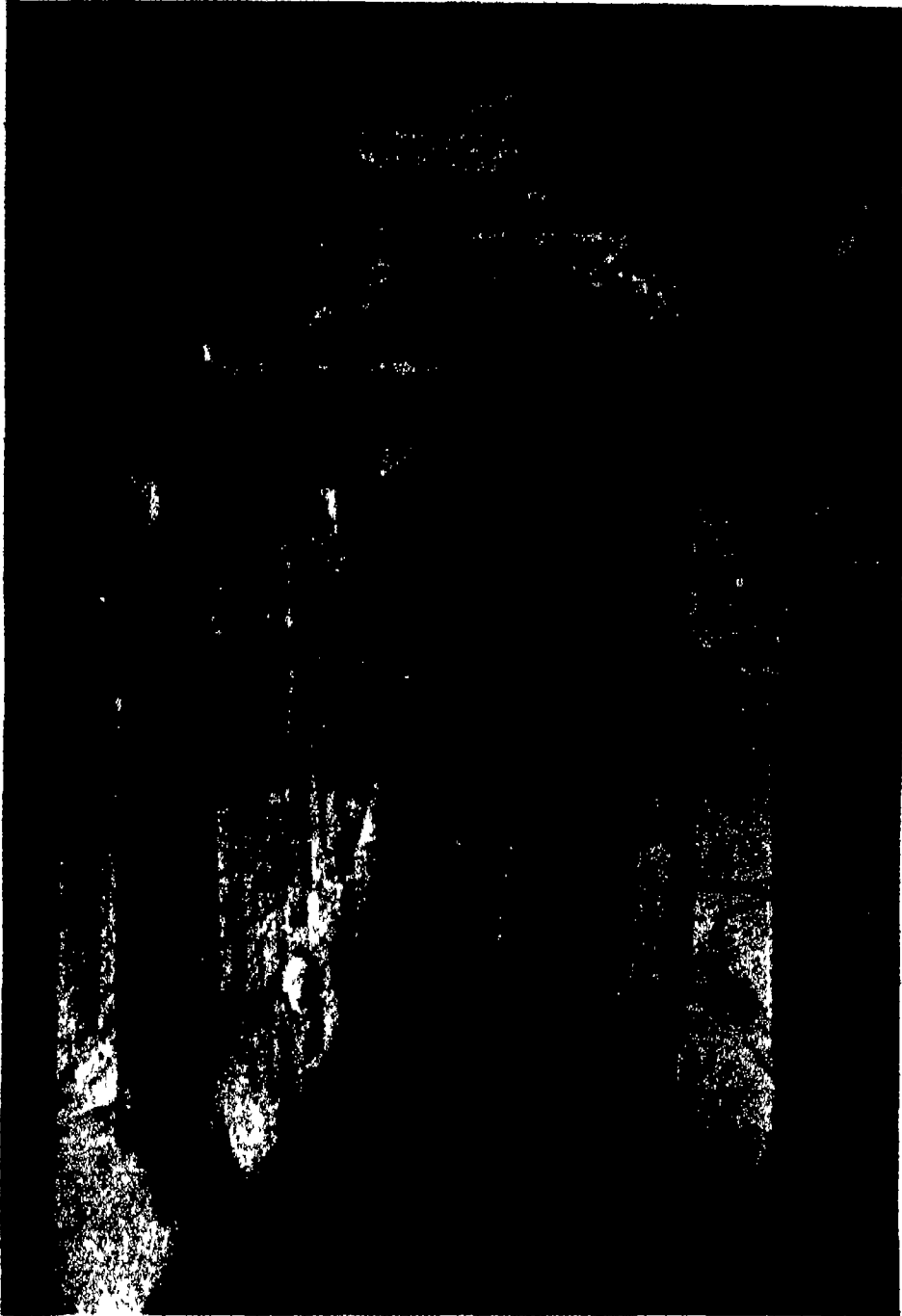
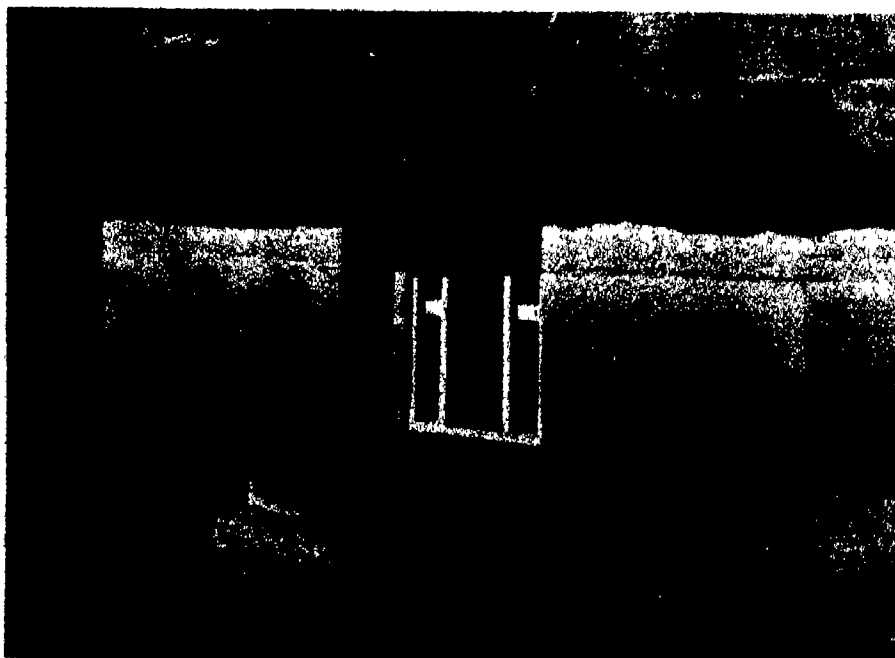
Side by side with the cutting in of the cave-temples, which had nearly a millennium-old tradition in the Deccan and elsewhere and which would, at best, reproduce the interior and façade aspects of contemporary brick-and-timber structures, complete *vimāna*-forms, exhibiting both the interior and exterior aspects, also came to be carved though not in such numbers as the cave-temples. It was Pallava Narasiṁhavarman I Māmalla (630-668) who initiated the mode of cutting out of live rock-temples forms of diverse plans and rise as exemplified by the so-called *rathas* of Mahabalipuram, all in the hard local granitic gneiss. The carving of such temple-forms proceeded from the top down to the base to reproduce all the external features of the original model and subsequently cut into for reproducing the aspects of the *maṇḍapa* and shrine-interiors. In the Pallava country and farther south, this led ultimately to the construction of structural stone temples. The contemporary Badami Cāḷukyas, however, skipped this stage of monolithic copies of brick-and-timber originals and produced structural temples by building up with sandstone blocks which could be easily quarried. But since this monolithic forms was quite a novel idea, it soon caught up with contemporary and later dynasties and regions and gave rise to such productions of the Pāṇḍyas as the Veṭṭuvāṇkovil in Tirunelveli District, the Veṅgi Cāḷukyas and Telugu Coḷās in the Vijayawada, Undavalli and Bhairavakonda replicas and miniatures. It even travelled beyond to Dhamnar, District Mandasor, Masrur, District Kangra, Gwalior (Caturbhujaji temple) and Colgong, District Bhagalpur. The germ of the idea apparently lies in the carved-out *stūpas* inside the rock-cut Buddhist *caitya*-halls of western India and the imperfect *vimāna*-form found in the Tawā 'cave' of Udaigiri, District Vidisha—a more or less circular monolithic temple-form of Gupta times, hewn out of an isolated sandstone rock-mass into a hemisphere on a base and surmounted by a large flat stone like a *tawā* or disc.

In the Deccan it was the Rāṣṭrakūṭas, who, even after the inception of structural temples in stone by the Cāḷukyas, their predecessors, and their own

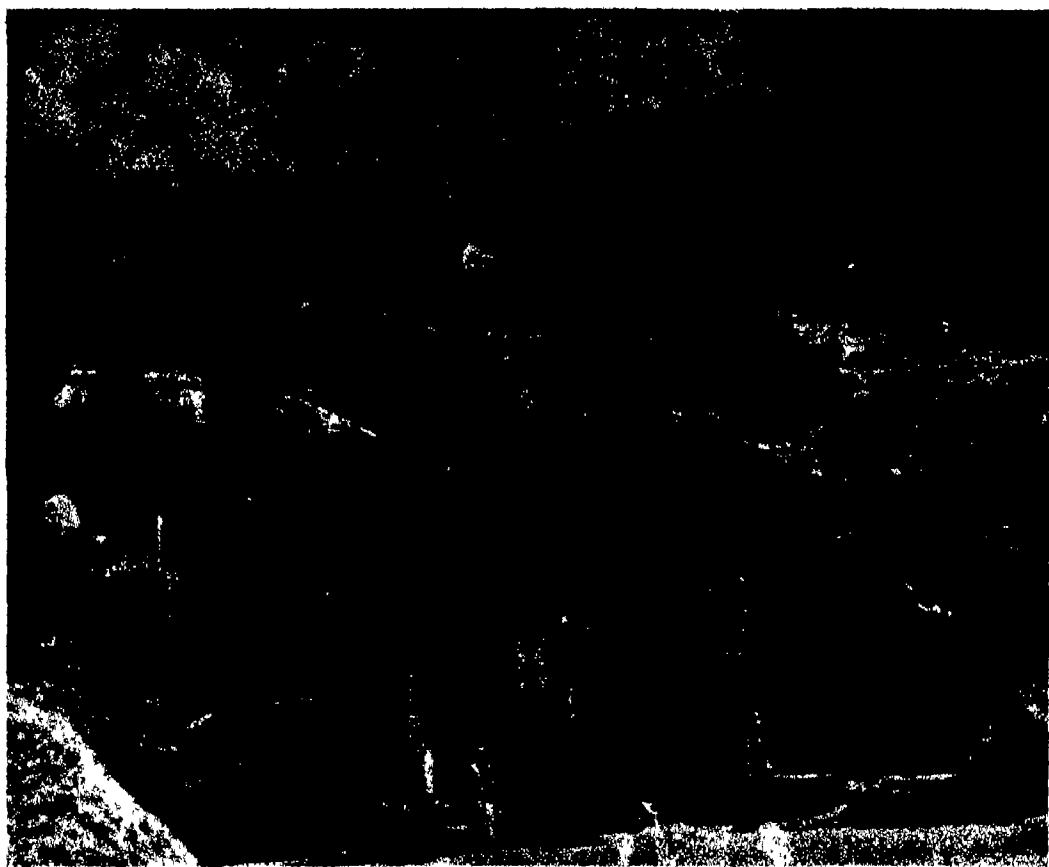
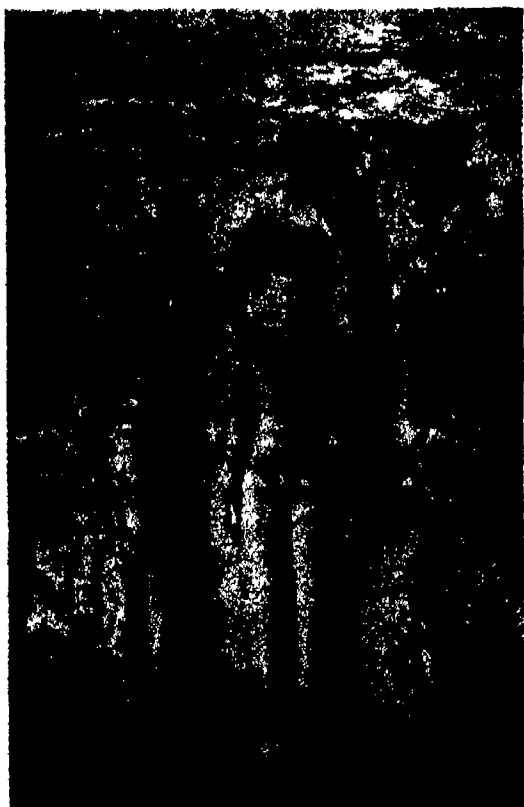
A. Badami : Jain cave-temple, exterior

B. Badami : Jaina cave-temple, interior

PLATE 113

A. Badami : Jaina cave-temple, Gommateśvara

B. Badami: Jaina cave-temple, Tirthaṅkara Ṛṣabhanātha

Badami : Jaina cave-temple, Tīrthaṅkara Pārśvanātha

A. Aihole : Menābasti cave-temple, exterior

B. Aihole : Jaina cave-temple, exterior

PLATE 116

Ellora : Indra-sabhā (Cave 32), exterior

A. Ellora : Indra-sabhā (Cave 32), Tīrthaṅkara Pārśvanātha

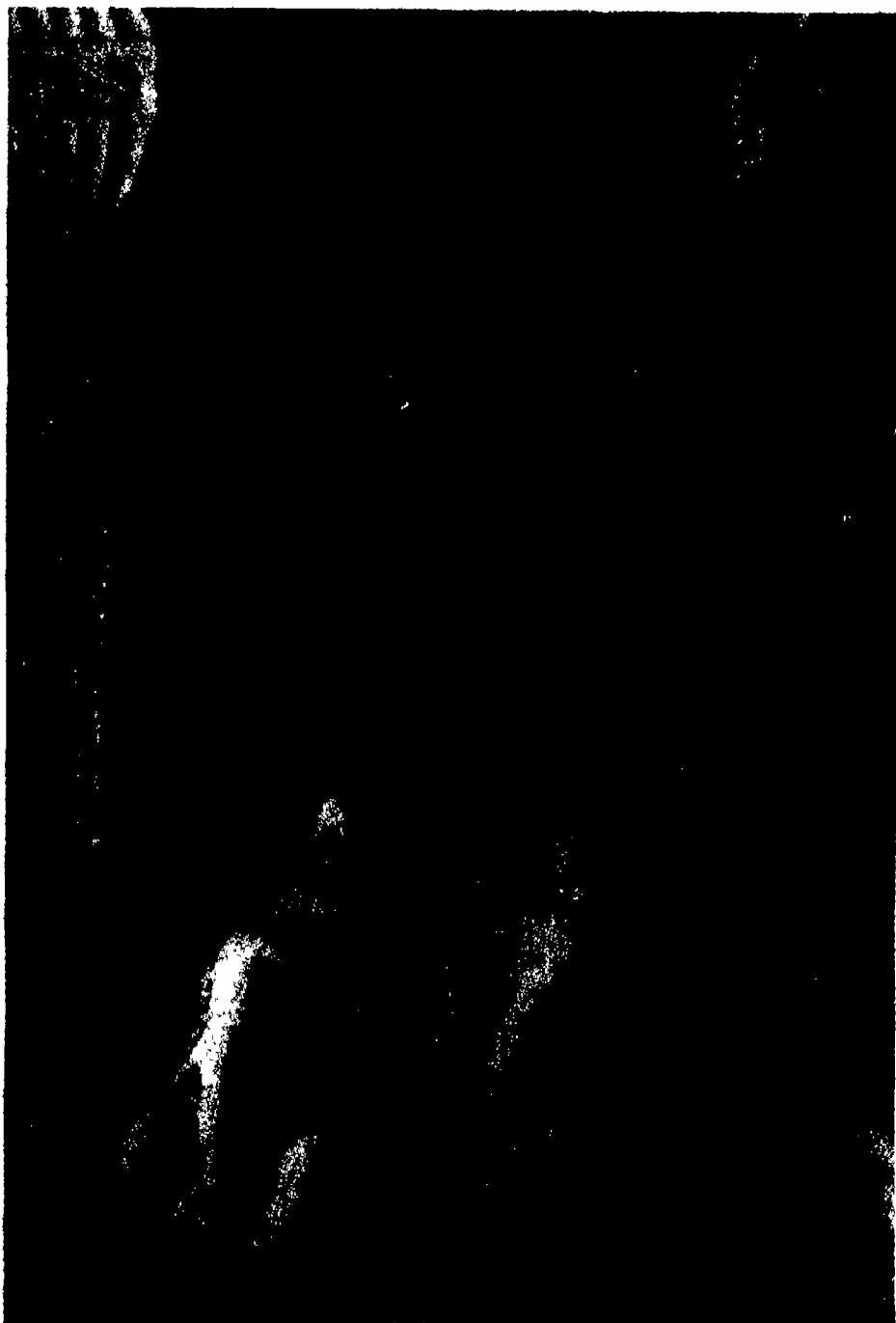
B. Ellora : Cave 32, Gommaṭeśvara

PLATE 118

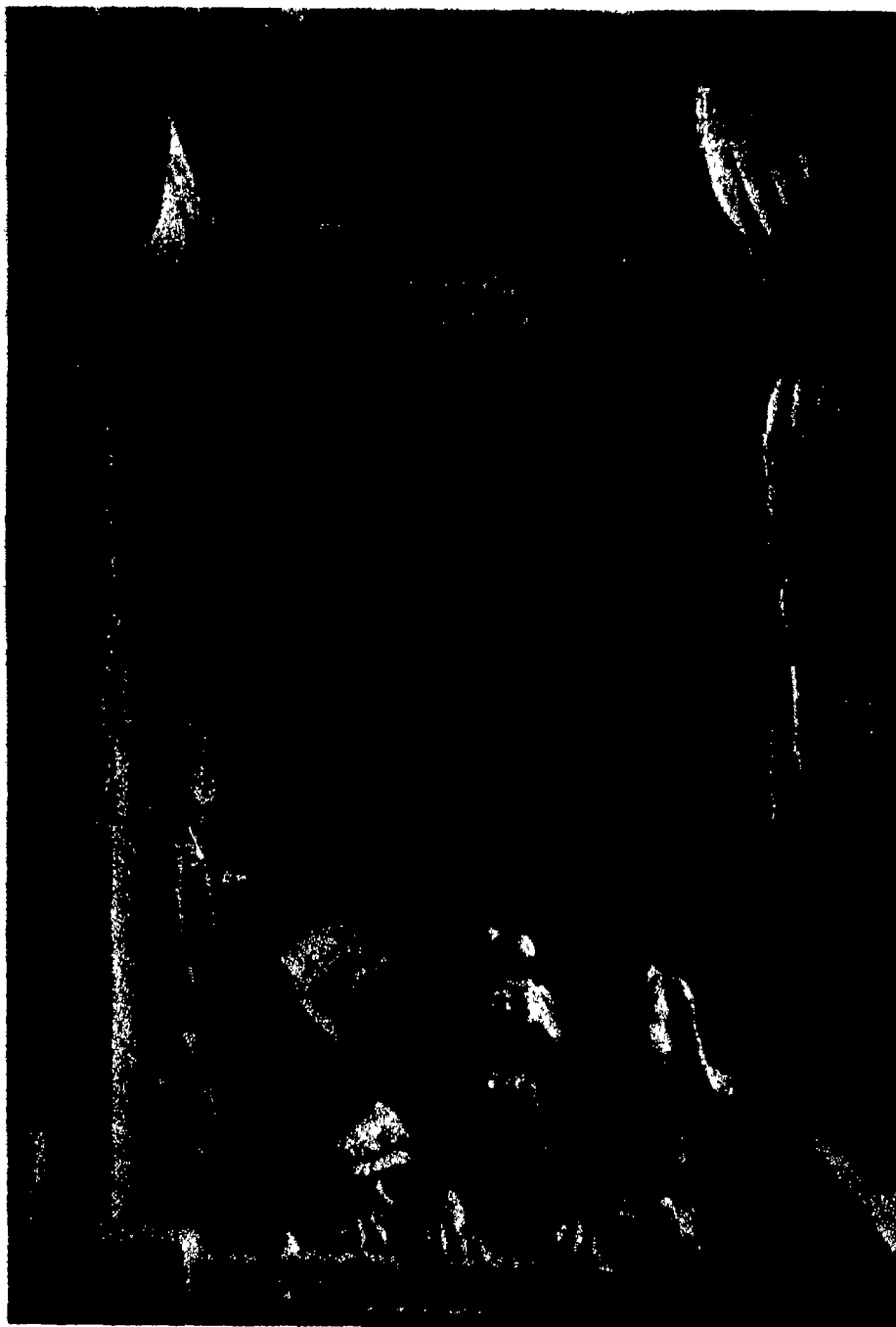
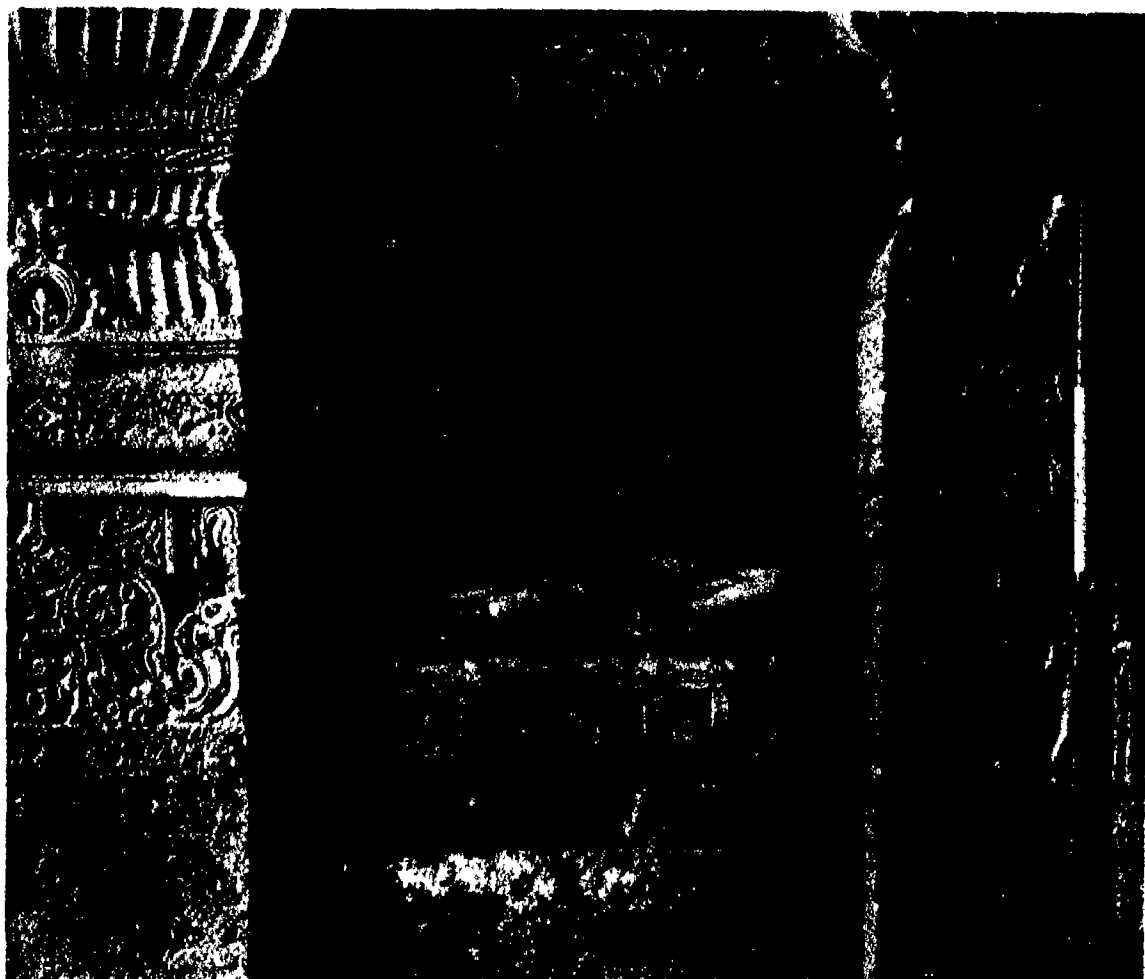
Ellora : Cave 32, pillars

A. Ellora : Cave 33, exterior

B. Aihole : Meguti temple

PLATE 120

Ellora : Cave 33, Kubera

Ellora : Cave 33, Yakṣī Ambikā

PLATE 122

Ellora : Cave 33, Tirthaṅkaras

Ellora : Cave 33, interior

PLATE 124

achievements in built-up temples, made a very bold essay of this kind in the famous Kailāsa monolithic temple-complex at Ellora created by entrenching all round a central mass into the side of the rock and carving out of the central block a full temple with *vimāna*, peripheral shrines, axial *maṇḍapas* and *gopura* with *prākāra*-flanks with an intervening sunk open courtyard. While this, attributed to Rāṣṭrakūṭa Kṛṣṇa III (757-83) and dedicated to Śiva, is the largest available monolithic temple, the Jainas of the place created a lesser replica of the Kailāsa, now called the Choṭā-Kailāsa, at the end of the ridge of Ellora. This and the Jaina *caumukha vimāna* in the Indra-sabhā court mark the culmination of monolithic temples in south India.

The Choṭā-Kailāsa (Cave 30) is about a quarter the size of the great Kailāsa; in the process of reduction, its superstructure has assumed stunted proportions and is also unfinished. It is hewn out of the central mass of rock resulting by entrenching on its four sides, the extent of the pit being 40×25 m. The temple faces west. The main *vimāna* has two superposed storeys as many Jaina structural temples, and it is perhaps owing to this factor that the storeys appear stunted. The lower storey has a large Mahāvīra attended by Yakṣas and Yakṣīs, enshrined in the sanctum, and the upper has what would appear to be Sumatinātha with attendants. The upper storeys with sanctum is surmounted by an octagonal *grīvā* and *śikhara*, denoting it to be of the *Drāviḍa* order of southern *vimānas*. On the side-walls flanking the entrance into the lower shrine are other images of Jinās and also an eight-armed goddess on the north wall. The door-jambs are of the Cāḷukya-Rāṣṭrakūṭa overdoor-pattern with *śākhās*, a northern inheritance from Gupta times and the *uttaraṅga* above the architrave is a row of two *kūṭas* or miniature square *vimāna*-reliefs, one at either end, and a *śālā* or miniature oblong *vimāna*-relief with wagon-top roof in the middle. The shrine is preceded by a small *antarāla*, and a large *mahā-maṇḍapa* with sixteen pillars, of which some are of the *kalaśa*-topped variety, while the others of the *kumbha-vallī* type. The pillars are arranged in groups of four at the four corners of the hall which has three entrances on the west, north and south, with pillared porches fronting them as in the greater Kailāsa. The porches have the characteristic *kakṣāsanas* i.e., back bench like rests, on either side, as is characteristic of northern temples and those of Caḷukyan derivation in the south. The main entrance on the west is flanked by two *dvara-pālas*, one on either side. Interestingly enough, on the wall-space on either side beyond the porch is carved a dancing Śiva sculpture, and there is also a half-finished relief of a goddess on the south wall. The sanctum of the upper tier is preceded by a *śukanāsā*, characteristic again of northern temples and those the Caḷukya-Rāṣṭrakūṭa vintage, which comes over the *antarāla* below

and leads into the upper sanctum. In front of the court is a *dvāra-maṇḍapa* standing for a *gopura*-entrance with many sculptures of Jaina Tīrthaṅkara and other deities. including a six-armed goddess.

The monolithic Jaina *caumukha* or *caturmukha-vimāna* (plate 125) standing in the forecourt of the Indra-sabhā is a unique piece, combining in its essential southern *vimāna*-form some distinguishing features. It is *vimāna* of three storeys, square on plan but with the crowning *grīvā* and *śikhara* octagonal, making it a typical Drāviḍa *vimāna* of the southern texts. The *stūpi*, which must have been a separate piece from the monolith, is now detached. The ground floor is open on the four cardinal sides, with porches projected from their entrances having flights of steps leading up in front to the top of the moulded *adhiṣṭhāna* or plinth. The *adhiṣṭhāna* is of the *kapota-bandha* type with *upāna kumuda*. *kaṇṭha* and *kapota* with the *prati* forming the floor of the cella on top. The projected porches have advanced pillars, each with square base, octagonal shaft, and capitals with the *kumbha* prominent but with the *kalaśa* or *laśuna* and *tāḍi* much fore-shortened. The *prastara* or architrave is marked by the prominent flexed *kapota* or cornice with *koṇa-paṭṭa* or scroll-markings at the real and projected corners. The sanctum contains a central stele with Jinā sculptures on its four sides facing the four entrance. The architraves of the porch projections carry prominent *pañjara*-like *nāsikā*-fronts with *siṁhamukha*-finials. They are much projected from the middle of the wagon-top *śālā* miniatures or *bhadra-śālās* of the *hāra* which has, at each of the four corners, a *karṇa-kūṭa* or miniature square *vimāna*-model with domical four-sided converging roof or *śikhara (kūṭa)* with a single *stūpi* at its apex as is the norm for southern *vimānas*. The second storey which is a lesser square of shorter height than the first has four cardinally-projected *nāsikās*, and no *śālās* or *kūṭas* of a *hāra*. The *nāsikā*-arches are crowned by *siṁhamukha*-finials. The third storey, a still smaller square much less height, is bereft of the *hāra*-elements—*kūṭa*, *śālās* or *pañjara*, but carries four lions at the four corners at the top—the *lāñchana* characteristic of Jaina temples and in consonance with the textual requirement that the top storey of the *vimāna* should have, at its corners, the *lāñchana* or *vāhana* appropriate to the deity enshrined in the main sanctum below. The octagonal *grīvā-śikhara* has small *mahā-nāsikās* projected dormer-like, from their eight octant faces.

The Choṭā-Kailāsa and the *Caumukha* present all the features of the southern *vimāna* as crystallized in the eighth century as does the great Kailāsa. The *caumukha* adopted suitably to its form and functions, is a more simple and elegant specimen of architectural model than the Choṭā-Kailāsa itself.

MASONRY TEMPLES

Among the early essays in stone construction of the early Cāḷukyas in their capitals Badami-Mahakuteswar and the twin cities of Aihole and Patadkal are some Jaina structures of which the Meguti temple (Melguḍi) at Aihole stands as (plate 120B) the foremost landmark by virtue of its uniqueness and the epigraphical evidence of its foundation, which is a Sanskrit verse-inscription of no mean order and a fine example of the eulogistic compositions of the period. The inscription records the erection of the temple to the Jina in 634 in the reign of Pulakeśin II and graphically recounts the exploits and territorial conquests of the famous ruler and praises the composer Ravikīrtti as comparable with Kālidāsa and Bhāravi.

The temple is essentially of the closed-*maṇḍapa* type, square, with a central cella in the place of the four central pillars and an outer wall connecting the twelve peripheral pilasters, thus leaving a *sāndhāra* circumambulatory passage in between the outer and inner walls. The walled central bay forming the main sanctum carries another shrine over its roof. The lateral hind corner and rear bays are formed into compartments five in number of the three sides of the main central shrine, while the frontal and forecorner bays are continuous forming a transversely oblong hall or *maṇḍapa*. The rear compartments on the two hind corners are square, like the main shrine, but smaller, and provide two lateral shrines not in a line with the central but at its two hind corners, with the two linear oblong compartments respectively lateral to the main sanctum, each forming the *antarāla-maṇḍapa* opening again in front into the main common-front *maṇḍapa*. These two *antarāla-maṇḍapas* of the hind corner-shrines in the transverse axial line of the main central cell have, like it, a flat roof, while the three rear bays, viz., the two square hind-corner subsidiary shrines and the intervening oblong passage behind the main cella, have a slopy roof as is also the case over the three corresponding bays of the common *maṇḍapa* in front. Thus, the structure is a unique form of a *tri-kūṭa* or triple-shrined model with the three shrines not in one line and of the same magnitude as usual but with the two lateral ones smaller and behind the hind-wall line of the large central shrine. The whole is raised over a moulded plinth or *adhiṣṭhāna* laid on a straight *māna-sūtra* line with four offset projections on each side, two at the corners and two in between, with the three intervening narrow recesses. The *kumuda* or torus-moulding is of the *tri-paṭṭa* type over the basal *upāna* and *jagati*-mouldings, the *kaṇṭha* above the *kumuda* being prominent, with a series of sculptures of *gaṇas* recalling those of the Badami caves. The *kaṇṭha* is surmounted by a *kapota* with *kūḍu*-like ornament at intervals, making

the *adhiṣṭhāna* of the *kapota-bandha* type. The wall above is correspondingly relieved and recessed, the reliefs combined by flat uniformly tetragonal pilasters, carrying capitals of the order consisting of the *kalaśa (laśuna), tāḍi, kumbha, pāli* and *phalaka* (abacus). The *potikās* (corbels) are elegant with curved profile and *taraṅga* (roll-markings) with a plain median band *paṭṭa*. The *prastara* or architrave, likewise relieved and recessed on each side of the structure, is marked by a well-formed and flexed *kapota* or cornice, with *kūḍu*-embellishments at intervals, coming over the *uttira* (beam) and *valabhī* and with *daṇḍikā*-like supports projected from the *valabhī* strutting up the forwardly-thrown cornice at intervals. The vestigial remains over the *prastara* would indicate the original presence of a *hāra* of *kūṭas* and *śālās*, the former over the corner offsets of the wall and *prastara*, hence *karṇa-kūṭas*, and the latter over the two intervening cardinal offsets. The corner and intervening offsets from the wall-face or the *bhadras* on each side carry plain niches or *deva-koṣṭhas* for the reception of figure-sculpture, now missing. The central recess on the lateral and hind walls have perforated windows to light the two *antarālas* of the two side shrines and the intervening, but closed, passage at the rear of the central and between the two lateral shrines. Its outer pilasters and their forms, the bays with *deva-koṣṭhas* and the recesses, its *prastara* or terrace-composition, the vestigial *hāra* of the *anarpita*-type standing away from the upper storey, the upper storey itself, though bereft of the crowning *grīvā śikhara* and *stūpi* (which, if present, would have been of octagonal plan), all strongly point to the southern *vimāna*-model. It is to be pointed out in this context that all the Cāḷukyan-Rāṣṭrakūṭa temples of Jaina dedication at Aihole and elsewhere in the Cāḷukyan country are invariably of the southern order or storeyed *vimāna* types, while the Brāhmaṇical ones include also the northern *rekha-prāsāda* type.

To this main structure is added a front *ardha-maṇḍapa* of lesser sides and oblong with a flight of steps in front and with the same type of *adhiṣṭhāna* and wall-pilasters and *prastara*. It is into its south wall that the slab with Pulakēśin's inscription is built and as such this would form part of the original temple. All these would emphasize the original scheme as a simple square principal part, with a central sanctum and *sāndhāra* passage between the inner and outer walls all round, with a lesser *ardha-maṇḍapa* in front, and the walling of the passage into compartments forming the rear lateral subsidiary shrines with their *antarālas* as afterthoughts. To the whole complex is added a slightly later and larger *mahā-maṇḍapa* of broadly the same style in front on the axial line. All original sculptures are lost, except for a large seated Jina (Vardhamāna) on the back wall and that of his Yakṣī Siddhāyikā now in the front corridor.

The Jaina temple locally called Megudi at Hallur which is 20 km. from Bhagalkot, is, both in its name and characteristics, analogous to the Meguti temple of Aihole. It is also most unlikely that this Hallur Megudi could have been very much separated in point of time from its Aihole counterpart. But for the tower-like superstructure on its first-storey shrine-chamber, it is certainly much better preserved. The use of the two *torana*-niches on either side of the *ardha-mandapa*-wall and the provision of a regular stone-cut monolithic stairway ladder to reach the roof are suggestive of earlier practices in vogue in the Cāḷukyan region. This temple could be attributed to the second half of the seventh century.

Coming back to Aihole, its other Jaina temples are the Yeniyavārguḍi, the Yogi-Nārāyaṇa group and the Cāraṇṭī Maṭh.

Of the Yeniyavārguḍi group of six shrines, the most interesting one, with a *dhvaja-stambha* in front, faces west, with its approach from the north through a pillared porch attached to its *sabhā-maṇḍapa* with its four pillars in the tenth century style. The lintels have Gaja-Lakṣmī as the *lalāṭa-bimba*. The *adhiṣṭhāna*, which shows *upāna, padma, kaṇṭha, tri-paṭṭa-kumuda*, another *gala,* and *prati,* is devoid of either the *vedi* or *vyālavari* on top. The walls are relieved and recessed alternately into *karṇa*, central *bhadra* and the two intervening *anuratha* offset-bays which are adorned by *vimāna-pañjaras* over close-set paired pilasters enclosing shallows and narrow blind niches. The *prastara* has a *haṁsa-valabhī* over the *uttīra*, slightly-projected *kapota*, with a *vedī* and *vyālavari* on top, carrying the elements of the *hāra*. The *vimāna* is two storeyed but the *grīvā* and *śikhara* with *stūpi* on top are missing. But whatever remains strongly suggests the typical southern *vimāna*-type as it had evolved in this region by the ninth-tenth centuries, which would ascribe an early or mid-tenth century date to this temple. The adjoining shrines, with sub-shrines, are of lesser interest, and all of them are empty and devoid of any characteristic sculpture.

The innermost temple of this group facing south has a *maṇḍapa*-structure, aligned in its front, rectangular and closed, having four free-standing pillars inside, of ornate type, the other pilasters on the walls being plain of tetragonal section carrying a tenon-corbel. The free-standing columns are simplified degenerations of the early Cāḷukyan forms with a square *śaduram* over the basal *pīṭha,* short fluted shaft, carrying circular sectioned segments above up to the *kumbha,* and are devoid of the *pāli* or *padma* and *phalaka* (abacus). Their corbels or *potikās* have bevel arms with *taraṅga*-reliefs and plain median band. The ceiling, as in the Meguḍi, is a raised central transverse clerestory with flat

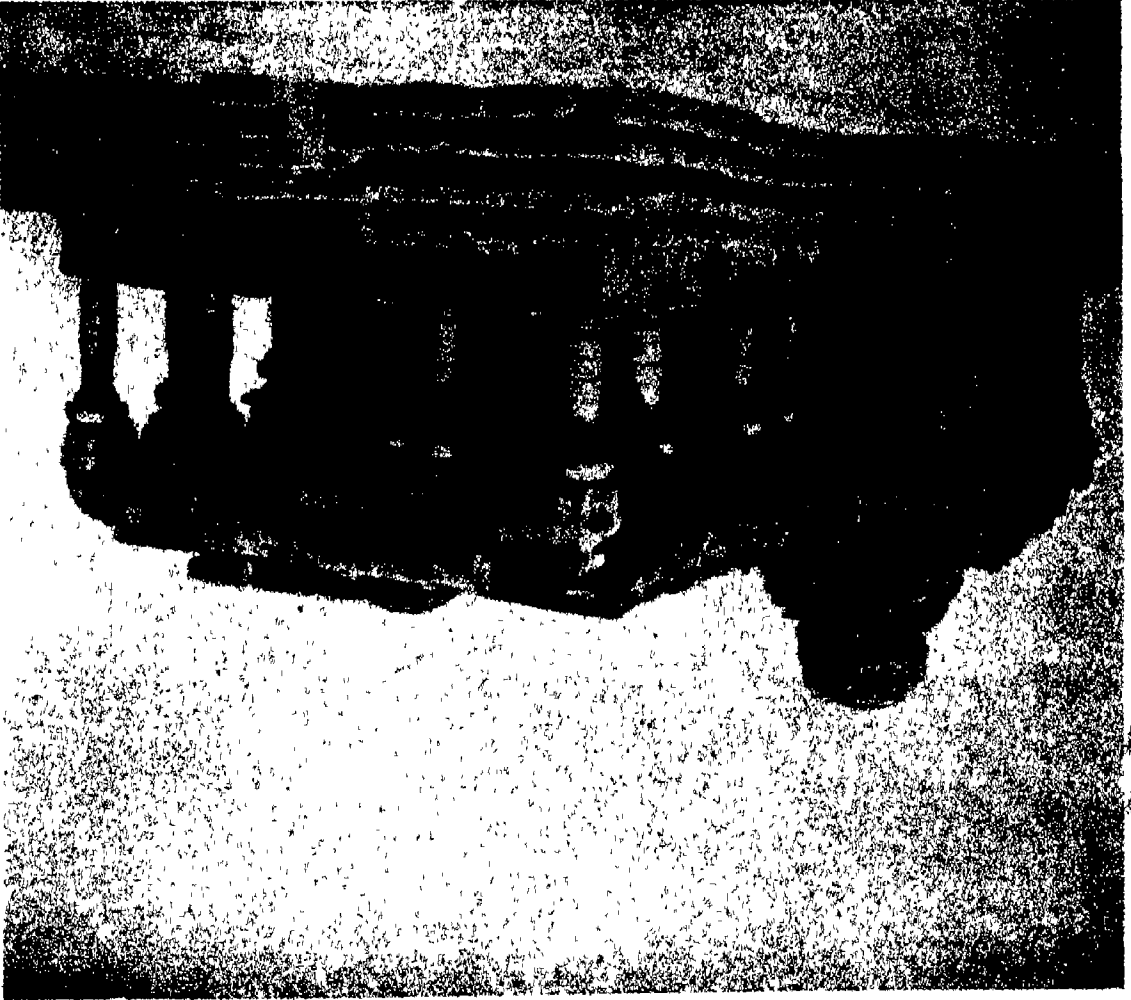
roof, while the fore and aft bays have somewhat slopy roofs at a lower level indicating the continuance of this *maṇḍapa*-type even as a mere hall, in combination with a regular southern *vimāna*-type shrine unit for a considerable time. The *adhiṣṭhāna* is of a simple type with *upāna* and *padma*.

The central temple of the other group is noted for its ornate door-frame, forming the overdoor of the entrance into the sanctum which now contains a small *liṅga* over a circular *pīṭha*. The *ardha-maṇḍapa* in front is as wide as the sanctum. The *nava-raṅga* preceding it has two small subshrine cells at its two inner corners, reminiscent of a similar arrangement in the famous Virūpākṣa and other temples of Patadkal. The pillars inside the *nava-raṅga*, though having a sharpened or carinated *kumbha*, are not yet too much of the 'lathe-turned' type, their corbels of the slightly concave level type, and the side-roofs are slopy with a central clerestory. The *adhiṣṭhāna* is of the simple *mañca*-type but raised over a series of plain basal courses forming foundation-offsets. The projected curved cornice terminates at the inner bay of the front hall to be continued as the subdued *kapota* of the shrine-part.

The Yogi-Nārāyaṇa group near the Virūpākṣa mainly comprises a large temple aligned east-west and facing east. Its main part is a *tri-kūṭa* or triple shrine unit provided with a common vestibule leading out into a pillared outer *maṇḍapa* which is also common to the shrine facing it. This latter shrine with a front *maṇḍapa* having *kakṣāsanas*, narrow *antarāla* and cella enshrined a Mahāvīra image with attendants and elaborate *tiruvāci* as the extant pedestal and the *lāñchanas* on it would show. The Mahāvīra is now replaced by a Kārttikeya. The *trikūṭācala* main shrine-part has a moulded *adhiṣṭhāna* with *upāna, padma, karṇika, kapota* and *vyālavari* (hence *kapota-bandha*), and its weak bays and recesses tend to give an apparent curvature to its horizontal offsets. The walls above are plain and devoid of pilasters or *kuḍya-stambhas*. The *prastara* and the *hāra* over it are of the true southern *vimāna*-type. Even the topmost storey of the three storeyed *vimāna*-part carries the *hāra* of *kūṭas* and *śālās*, a primitive feature, with the flaring *gṛhapiṇḍi* on top. The *grīvā* and *śikhara* are missing. Projected in front of the superstructure is the characteristic *śuka-nāsā*. The central cella of the triple unit enshrines a polished stone image of Pārśvanātha. This main temple appears to be much earlier than the shrine opposite, since its pillar-forms are different. The latter has pillars, not of the 'lathe-turned' black stone, but of sandstone of the early medieval type. The Kannada inscriptions in the common vestibule of the main unit and the style and other features would make this a sequal to the Yeniyavārguḍi group.

Patadkal : Jaina temple

Ellora : Cave 33, *vimāna*-shrine

PLATE 125

The Cāraṇṭī Maṭh group of Aihole is close to the two other groups, the Maddinaguḍi and the Trayambakeśvara. Of these, the Cāraṇṭī Maṭh was obviously the nucleus of a prosperous Jaina establishment. The main structure faces north, with an entrance portico in the form of a pillared porch leading into a larger *sabhā-maṇḍapa* with four central pillars which is connected at its rear to the main *vimāna* through a narrow *antarāla*. The sanctum enshrines a seated sculpture of Mahāvīra. The main shrine here, as has become typical of Jaina *vimānas*, has an upper storey shrine above it forming the second storey of the *vimāna* proper. Access to this is by a monolithic stone ladder at the north-east corner of the *sabhā-maṇḍapa*, with an aperture opened on top in the ceiling leading to the terrace. The upper shrine too is provided with an inner hall and outer *agra-maṇḍapa*. The *adhiṣṭhāna* is moulded with *upāna, padma, kaṇṭha, tri-paṭṭa-kumuda, gala* and *kapota* i.e. *kapota-bandha*, as in common in the Cāḷukyan area. The walls are marked off at intervals by plain pilasters with bevel corbels on top. The *vinyāsa-sūtra* or outline of the plinth and the walls is straight on each side without projections or recesses, unlike that of Yeniyavārguḍi. The central and extreme sections of the walls are adorned by balustraded *vimāna-pañjaras*. The *hāra* over the *prastara* is more stylized than that of Yeniyavārguḍi. The *śikhara* is of the typical southern form.

On either side of the *sabhā-maṇḍapa* and connected to it by short passages are two subshrines with cella and front *maṇḍapa* in the case of the eastern and only the cella and *antarāla* in the case of the western—both evidently a later addition. Both of these have Jina figures as *lalāṭa-bimba* over the lintels, their cella being empty. A Kannada inscription built into the wall of the temple, dated A.D. 1119, in the reign of Tribhuvanamalla Vikramāditya VI of the Later Cāḷukyan dynasty, referring to repairs and additions by a merchant of the '500 *svāmins* of Ayyāvoḷe'—the local merchant-guild—sets the latest date for the temple, of which the main part should have been much earlier.

The subsidiary structure standing close to the entrance-porch along the northern fringe of the premises is a double unit with closed cross-wall but common hall and corridor and twin approach-steps. The door-frames both of the outer and inner, the drooping *kapota* on the façade of the corridor, the pillared vestibule and hall are lavishly sculptured, of which the most interesting are the two panels over the front-door architraves depicting the twenty-four Tīrthaṅkaras.

The adjoining Maṭh, with a rectangular corridor, has on the cornice over the door-frames *vimāna*-models, seemingly of the northern types and a stellate

plan, reproducing the contemporary and later forms in vogue in the Hoysaḷa tract farther south. Other features are reminiscent of the early stages of Later Cāḷukyan architecture as found in Gadag, Lakkundi, Dambal etc., of the eleventh century and after.

The Jaina *vimāna* (plate 126) on the outskirts of Patadkal, belonging to the Rāṣṭrakūṭa period and preceding or overlapping into the beginning of the Later Cāḷukyan phase, is an outstanding monument. It is a three-storeyed *sāndhāra-vimāna,* square on plan from base to *śikhara* with two lower storeys, which are functional. The *adhiṣṭhāna* is of short height and is moulded with the usual parts of the *kapota-banda* variety, where the *kūḍu* forms of the *kapota* have lost their original arched *nāsikā*-shape and become flat triangular reliefs, heralding the 'dentil'-shapes of the later Cāḷukyan and Hoysaḷa temples. The capitals of the pilasters have lost their original shape and robustness of parts. The *vimāna*-part is connected to the *nava-raṅga-maṇḍapa* by an *antarāla,* all on the same type of *adhiṣṭhāna.* The *nava-raṅga*-wall on each side has seven bays with six intervening recesses, adorned by *nāsikā*-front frames with seated Jina or other figures inside. The *prastara* of the *maṇḍapa* of the lower storey and *antarāla* carries a *hāra* of *kūṭas* at the corner, *śālās* and *pañjara* alternating in between. The presence of the *pañjara* as the third *hāra*-element in addition to the *kūṭas* and *śālās* alone of earlier forms is a notable feature that would indicate an eighth-century or later date. Since the lowest storey is double-walled or *sāndhāra* the *hāra* on top is *anarpita* or that which is not quite applique on the second-storey *harmya.* The upper shrine has its sanctum enclosed by the upper extension of the inner wall of the lowest storey and the wall of its *antarāla* front is marked by the basal part of the *śuka-nāsā* projected in front of the superstructure, while the *prastara* of the upper storey on its other three sides carries four *karṇa-kūṭas* at the four corners and three *śālās* over the middle of the sides and rear, inbetween the *karṇa-kūṭas* there being no scope for a *śālā* on the front side because of the *śuka-nāsā.* The third storey, of lesser width and height, is relieved on all sides except the front, where it is extended into the upper tiers of the *śukanāsā.* These relieved bays contain *udgama*-motifs as in northern temples. The square *śikhara* over the *grīvā,* following the same scheme of repeatedly-advanced offsetting, as in the storey below, comes to simulate a twelve-ribbed member heralding similar modifications characteristic of the Later Cāḷukyan temples to come. In front of the closed *nava-raṅga* is an open multi-pillared *agra-maṇḍapa,* the peripheral row of pillars on all sides, except the entrance-bay, connected by *kakṣāsanas.* Except the two innermost pillars of the peripheral series abutting the *nava-raṅga*

front, all others as well as the four central ones, though of sandstone, are partially 'lathe-turned', anticipating the more completely 'lathe-turned' pillars of schist and soaptone of the Later Cāḷukyas and Hoysaḷas.

K.R. SRINIVASAN

CORRIGENDA

Obvious errors have not been included here.

Chapter 2

Page 14, line 2. Insert 'as' after 'many'.

Chapter 6

Page 64, line 29. Delete 'were' at the end.
Page 67, line 6. For 'Naminātha, read 'Neminātha'.

Chapter 7

Plate 24, caption. For '1', read '9'.

Chapter 8

Page 87, line 13. For '36A', read '37'.
Page 89, line 14. For '38A', read '38'.

Chapter 9

Page 96, line 27. For 'mentioned', read 'Ajjaṇandi'.
Page 96, line 28. For 'Ajjaṇandi', read 'mentioned'.
Page 96, line 31. For 'Motur', read 'Melur'.
Plate 39A, caption, and page 97, line 7. For 'Mankulam', read 'Mangulam'. So also on page (xv), line 2.
Page 99, line 10. For '*Trinmangalam*', read '*Tirumangalam*'.
Page 101, line 17. Delete 'known' and and insert 'known as' after 'is'.
Page 101, line 27. For 'Cerikāyapaṉ', read 'Ceṅkāyapaṉ'.

Chapter 10

Page 116, caption of fig. VIII. Insert '4-6' after 'and'.

Chapter 12

Page 127, line 27. Insert 'of' after 'pupil'.

Chapter 15

Plate 90. Transpose captions of A and B.

Chapter 18

Page 190, last line. For '125', read '124'.